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THE INVASIONS OF ENGLAND.





THE  
INVASIONS OF ENGLAND.

A  
HISTORY OF THE PAST,  
WITH  
LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE.

BY  
CAPTAIN H. M. HOZIER,  
AUTHOR OF "THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR."

IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. I.

"The cry is still they come."—*Shakespeare.*

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## PREFACE.

WE in England have been so long unaccustomed to any threat of an invasion, or to the idea that our country might ever be made a theatre of war, that we have begun to regard such a possibility as almost chimerical. It was, however, but in the beginning of this century that this country was seriously threatened, and the gravest apprehensions were entertained as to our national safety. It has been my endeavour in the following pages to trace the history of the various invasions or attempts at invasion that have been made against England, and to deduce from a study of the conditions under which they were either successful or the reverse, the probabilities of another successful descent upon our shores. In a work of this nature it is necessary to avoid either that too great confidence which sometimes results from an overweening patriotism, or the wild terror which may be nurtured



by an alarmist. I have endeavoured to steer a just and even course, equally removed from both of these extremes. Yet a careful and, I truly believe, an impartial consideration of all the circumstances under which invasions of our island have been attempted, carried out, or averted, leads to the belief that sufficient means have as yet not been developed for insuring our security against invasion from abroad.

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THE  
INVASIONS AND ATTEMPTED INVASIONS  
OF ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

SKETCH OF EARLY BRITAIN.

I PROPOSE to write an account of the invasions and attempted invasions of England from the Norman Conquest; and, from an examination of the causes which led to the success or failure of those descents, to attempt to deduce the possibility of a future successful invasion during our own times. In order to thoroughly comprehend these causes, I must treat not only of the warlike preparations of the invaders and of the military prowess of the inhabitants of our country, but also to a slight extent of the political state, the customs and habits of both parties; of the offensive and defensive armour in existence; of the diet, organization, and administration of the combatants; and of the facilities for communication and for the transport of troops by land and water.



Of the earliest history of the island little is really known. The science of language and the earliest records of history teach us that Europe has been peopled by consecutive incursions of tribes who, springing from the teeming population of Asia, have been driven into our continent by the desire of change or the compulsion of war.<sup>1</sup> The first of these arrivals were pressed by the advances of their successors further and further westward, until, reaching the shores of the Atlantic, they were forced either to turn at bay or to seek some other coasts whither the full pressure of the eastern exodus had not yet extended. Great families of mankind are said to have crossed in succession from Asia into Europe—the Celtic, the Gothic, and the Slavonic. The Celtic race is supposed to have been already settled on the northern shores of the Black Sea at the time of the production of Homer's "Odyssey," but before Herodotus wrote his history to have been dispossessed by the Gothic family, and pushed in a north-easterly direction to the shores of the Baltic, the German Ocean, and the British Channel. Various tribes of the former family are said to have crossed from their settlements on the mainland to the island which we now call Britain. Whether these were the early savages, who have left us a silent history of their existence in *cromlechs* and relics of flint, or whether these disturbed already established inhabitants, it is hardly possible even to conjecture. The first of the Celtic tribes who landed on these shores are supposed to have been soon followed by the Cimbri,

<sup>1</sup> Max Müller, "Lectures on the Science of Language."

who, crossing from Jutland, Slesvig, and Holstein,—districts still termed collectively, by classical scholars, the Cimbric Chersonese,—drove their predecessors from the eastern and southern parts into the northern portion of the island—known to us as the highlands of Scotland, to the earlier settlers in this country as Alben, or “the land of hills”—across the Irish Channel, and into the Western Hebrides. The Cimbri, or according to Latin orthography the Cambrians, were succeeded by the Logrians, also a tribe of Celtic race, who had settled in Gascony, and being themselves expelled from Gaul by the pressure of late arrivals from the East, sailed to the island of the Cambrians, established themselves on the southern and eastern coasts, and pushed the former inhabitants into the mountainous districts of Wales. After the incursion of the Logrians, we find, according to learned authorities, the island partitioned among three different tribes, who all spoke dialects of one great language: the aboriginal inhabitants occupied the portion called Alben, north of the Forth and Clyde; the Cambrians held possession of Cambria, or Wales; and the Logrians occupied the eastern and southern portions, which were named from their inhabitants Logria. Another tribe of Celtic origin, named the tribe of Brythan, sailing from the districts of Gaul contained between the Loire, the Seine, and the sea, landed on our island after the Logrians, and occupied the country between the northern Logrians and the aboriginal highlanders. It is from this tribe, the last arrival of the Celtic race, that our island is said to have obtained the



name of Britain, and it is therefore inferred that these colonists from North-western Gaul had before the Roman invasion extended their dominion considerably south of their first settlements.

At the time the tribe of Brythan is supposed to have landed in the island which from them was to be named Britain, the vanguard of the great Gothic incursions, which had been gradually following up across Europe the receding Celtic tribes, arrived on the shores of the German Ocean. A tribe of Gothic race, settled in the low country of Flanders, were driven from their habitations by an inroad of the sea : unable to retreat inland on account of the approaching masses of their Gothic brethren, they were obliged to seek safety on the element which had threatened them with destruction, sail to the Humber, push up that river, and establish themselves on its banks. This Gothic colony would probably have been followed by others within comparatively short intervals, had not another power now commenced to be felt on the north-western continent of Europe, and the rude, rough savages of both Celtic and Gothic tribes of Gaul to be defeated and subdued by the drilled and disciplined legions of civilized Rome. Interesting as the above surmises may be to archæologists, in tracing them to a definite source we find little but conjecture to guide us ; and although the rule in history, as in ancient physics, seems to be that a vacuum is to be abhorred, we can hardly believe that, in the long string of conjectures which details the prehistoric invasions of our island, all are correct ; and

except for the expert in archæological conjecture, it would be dangerous to guess which are probable and which improbable.

Julius Cæsar, who had brought under the dominion of the Roman Republic the wild tribes of Gaul, heard vague accounts on the continent of a land of which the cliffs were distinctly visible on a clear day from many parts of Gaul's northern coast. Ambition of penetrating into a land hitherto untrodden by the Roman soldier, and so unexplored that none knew whether it was a vast continent spreading into the misty north, or a confined island bounded by a stormy sea,<sup>1</sup> impelled this adventurous captain to make a descent on its shores. From the writings of this invader we have the earliest records, at all authentic, of the island. But the accounts of the civilized Romans of barbarous Britain were collected apparently much in the same manner as modern anecdotes of savage travel. According to them, at this time the Britons were divided into numerous tribes, of which about forty-five are enumerated in the *Commentaries* of the Roman general. The Belgæ, an agricultural race, inhabited Hampshire and Sussex, along the coast of the British Channel: the tribes in the interior of the island led a pastoral life; their hovels, made of reeds and wood, or in some cases but holes in the ground covered over with these materials, were huddled together in clearings of the forests which spread abundantly over the country: in the immediate neighbourhood of these

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that Cæsar's description was written after his expedition to the island.



so-called towns (similar in reality to the pahs of New Zealand), which were defended from surprise and attack by barriers among the trees, their cattle were folded and their little cultivation carried on. The people themselves were tall but ungraceful savages, with fair hair, wanting the symmetry of form and regularity of limb which are generally supposed to peculiarly characterize mankind in the uncivilized state. Fierce and active in war, they fought both on horseback, and in chariots with scythes fixed to the axles: when these chariots had broken the ranks of an enemy, the infantry leaped to the ground and fought on foot, while the driver, who was superior in rank to the foot-soldiers, retired a little from the *mêlée*, and remained ready to receive the combatants in the event of a reverse. Thus they combined the mobility of cavalry with the steadiness of the foot-soldier. The infantry of barbarous Britain, less ignorant of the art of war than some more civilized armies, did not advance to the contest in heavy and cumbrous masses. Protected by small bucklers, and armed with long swords, which the soldiers wielded with address, they advanced in tiny detachments, which mutually supported each other. Daily practice perfected the British warriors in the exercises of war. So expert were they that they could, mounted, traverse the steep declivities and the rough hollows of an untended land at full speed; could guide their horses at will; could run along the beam, stand on the yoke, and thence rapidly dart into the chariots. The ordinary tactics were, first a charge of chariots, which often cast dismay into the

hostile ranks by the mere noise of the horses and the wheels: if this did not succeed, the chariots retired through the intervals of the horsemen, the infantry sprang down and advanced in skirmishing order to the attack, supported by the cavalry, which were ever ready to push a wavering line or pursue a retreating foe.<sup>1</sup> The British in war availed themselves also of their hounds, which were renowned for the chase, as auxiliaries.<sup>2</sup>

The ordinary British dress was a waistcoat with sleeves, a pair of loose breeches, and an upper garment called by the Romans a *sagum*; but on occasions of battle and of some religious festivals, they stripped themselves naked and stained their bodies a dark purple colour, with a vegetable extract called "woad." They had great quantities of cattle, but little money, and what they possessed of the latter consisted, like that of the Spartans, of copper or iron rings of a definite weight. They stored their scanty harvests in the ear in rude subterraneous granaries, and threshed out each morning sufficient for the wants of the day.

Polyandrisms, or the community of one woman among ten or twelve men—the custom of many deeply barbarous, the scandal of most highly civilized societies—existed in pre-Roman Britain. Infanticide, however, does not appear to have prevailed in our island while uncivilized, and children were agreed to be regarded as the offspring of the man who married the mother. The religion of

<sup>1</sup> Compare Cæsar, v. xvi.; Tacitus, "Agricola," xxxvi.; Frontin, "Histoire de Jules César;" Sharon Turner, &c.

<sup>2</sup> In these days a pack of sleuth-hounds might, in imitation, be used with advantage to aid in outpost duty and to pull down hostile vedettes.



the Britons was of a superstitious and sanguinary nature, and consisted chiefly of sacrifices of human victims, and of a blind obedience to the dictates of the Druidical hierarchy. Those who were about to brave dangers or battle, vowed men's lives as sacrifices to the gods of their gloomy mythology in case of a successful issue of their expeditions : those suffering from disease or misfortune sought cure or alleviation from their deities by means of the mortal agonies of thieves, criminals, prisoners of war, or, when these failed, guiltless fellow-men. On great occasions large images of wicker-work were made and filled with living men, who, by the application of fire, were roasted alive. Those who have pounced upon every chance expression in ancient writers as either a foundation or fortification of their theories, go on to tell us that the belief of the Britons in magic and augury was great, and the issue or failure of future undertakings determined by the appearance of the quivering entrails of disembowelled victims. At these grim ceremonials the Druids and prophetic women presided. They deemed sacred the oak and its parasite the mistletoe, which they termed "the all-healing." Groves of oak were the scenes of their sacrifices ; no ceremonies were performed without the leaves of that tree, and the mistletoe was supposed to bestow fecundity and act as a charm against poison for those to whom it was presented by a Druid. On the sixth day of the moon, which was the beginning of their months, years, and period of thirty years, they came to the oak on which mistletoe was growing ; the presiding Druid, clothed in white, ascended the tree and cut off the plant with a

golden knife, which was received in a white woollen cloth below ; two white bulls were then sacrificed, and a feast celebrated below the sacred tree. The Druids are asserted to have left us monuments of their more permanent temples in the blocks of Avebury and Stonehenge : their religion is traced as having been derived from stray Phœnician or Carthaginian colonists who sought Britain for the sake of tin—an inference which is rendered almost conclusive by the assertion of the fact that they used Greek characters in their writings, and that the Druidical religion spread from Britain into Gaul. These priests adjudged all causes of homicide or property, fixed the punishments of criminals, and assessed the remuneration of the injured. Whoever disobeyed their decrees was excommunicated from their sacrifices, which was regarded as the most severe possible punishment. All men fled from him on whom this ban rested, his conversation and very presence were shunned, and he was deprived of all legal rights. The members of the hierarchy themselves paid taxes neither in kind nor in person ; they did not engage in war, and filled no offices in peace. Their dogmas taught that souls never perished, but passed at death into other bodies. This creed removing from its tenants the fear of the unknown, doubtless was calculated to, and doubtless did conduce much to the valour of the British soldiery, for no man can march really boldly into battle who believes that the accident of the next instant may hurl him into eternal punishment. History confirms this opinion, which common sense dictates. Unless under peculiarly



disadvantageous strategical or tactical circumstances, no example can be found in military history where troops thoroughly confident of immortality or totally sceptical of futurity, have not conquered men who were believers in heart, but indifferent in life. It is not necessary to recall to mind the followers of Mahomet or the soldiery of Cromwell. The last war between Germany and France showed the truly believing or philosophically rationalistic German encounter, without emotion and with unvarying victory, the Frenchman, a believer in heart but an atheist in life. To the former, death held out few terrors; to the latter, the prospect of immortality was the prospect of punishment more terrible than the unexcited mind could conjure up. The morals of a land are of high concern for its military prowess. No warrior nation should be content with a purely secular education for its sons, as all men gather glimmerings of religious thought which in the moment of trial inspire fear, but which, unless cultivated, will not found a faith.

The pre-Roman Britons are said to have held it wrong to eat hares, geese, or fowls, but they bred and reared them for pleasure. The hare at this time appears to have been a domestic animal, and British fowls, ancestors of those black-breasted reds and gallant duckwings on whose prowess till lately thousands of pounds often depended in modern England, were, after the time of Cæsar, largely exported for the purposes of the pit to Gaul and to Rome. It is curious to remark that the pre-Roman Britons, although inhabiting an island of which the sea-coast is much indented, and forms many

creeks and harbours, do not appear to have been at all maritime, or to have had any but the very rudest ideas of navigation. They were foreign vessels which exported the tin that first drew the island into the commercial circle of civilization ; and even a century after Cæsar the coracles of the native Britons were osier baskets framed with hides. To give a proper value to these stories, the Britons, at the time of the first Roman assault on their island, seem to have been much in the same state as the present aborigines of New Zealand. They seem to have possessed the art of mining and smelting ores, and it would appear probable that they could manipulate iron sufficiently to form the weapons and carriages which they used in war ; but all fine and ornamental articles, such as vases of amber and of glass, ornamental collars and ivory decorations for the headstalls of their horses, they drew from Gaul. The Roman general who planned their invasion probably knew full well the value among the lower citizens of Rome of the *omne ignotum pro mag-nifico*, and, with a policy which seems traditional with Cæsarism, sought to gain the suffrages of the mob by dazzling it with the success of distant enterprise. At the same time, as might be the case in other invasions of the country, prospects of plunder were not entirely absent.





## CHAPTER I.

### INVASIONS OF BRITAIN BY JULIUS CÆSAR.

[AUTHORITIES.—Cæsar, “De Bello Gallico;” “Vie de Jules César,” by the Emperor Napoleon III.; Professor Airey on the Roman Invasion; Lewin’s “Invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar,” Dr. Guest, Walckenoer, Mr. Beale, Mr. Appach, Sir S. Scott, various papers in the *Archæological Journal*, &c.]

SUCH were the Britons upon whose island the Roman commander-in-chief resolved to make a descent. The island they inhabited, except for slight geological alterations, has remained of the same physical configuration as in those days. Its form is that of an irregular triangle; and it is not often that men realize of what small dimensions this triangle is. The base, formed by the south coast, measured in a straight line from the South Foreland to the Land’s End, is but 330 miles in length; the shorter side, the eastern, from the South Foreland to the northern extremity of Scotland, is little more than 560 miles if measured directly; and the western, the longest side, will measure but 600 miles from the Land’s End to Dunnett’s Head.

The whole area of Britain is not 100,000 square miles. England, now the southern division of the island, has an extent of about 51,000, while the adjacent principality of Wales includes under 7,500 square miles. Scotland,



the northern portion of the island, contains about 31,500 square miles.

The island of Ireland, which lies to the west of Britain, and is separated from the larger island by St. George's Channel and the Irish Sea, contains about 32,500 square miles. The shortest distance across the latter sea, between the Mull of Cantyre in Scotland and Fair Head in Ireland, is about 13 miles, while the average distance from the headlands of Wales to the Irish coast is about 60 miles.

If the superficial area of Britain is compared with that of other lands, we find that it is about thrice that of Greece, less than half that of Italy, about a fourth that of France or Spain, and about a hundredth of that of Russia. Small as this island may thus appear, its sons have in former times done great things; tiny as the country in which they have been born, and for which so many of them have died, may seem, in life they have overspread the world, and grasped its remotest climes within the sphere of their dominion. But the offensive energy of Britain can be regarded as no criterion of her defensive capabilities: these are great; but the soil will not sustain its teeming population, and the isolation which may result from a purely defensive policy must, if continued, be as certainly calamitous as the investment of any circumscribed fortress.

No country in the world is similarly favoured by geographical situation and physical configuration; the climate of Britain is subject neither to scorching heat nor to long-continued cold; the mineral wealth of the

island is apparently boundless ; the soil is favourable for both energetic agriculture and the careful rearing of stock. An insular position and an indented coast-line favour the training and the profession of the seaman, and not only do much to guarantee our land against foreign invasion, but tend to develop as the main national defence a navy, which is less adapted than an army to be made the tool of an unconstitutional ruler for subverting the liberties of his subjects.

When Cæsar assumed the command of the Roman forces in Gaul, the Roman state was still in name a republic. It had, however, for eighty years been torn by internal strife, and had been often the victim of the despotic dominion of successful military leaders. Rome was already on the verge of the stormy century which commenced with the opposition of the senatorial party to the reforms proposed by the Gracchi, and terminated with the battle of Actium, which, thirty-one years before the birth of Christ, left Augustus the supreme leader of the arms of the Roman world.

Julius Cæsar, who four years previously had taken possession of the province of Gaul, then comprising the north of Italy (*Gallia Cisalpina*) with part of *Illyrium* and the south of France (*Gallia Transalpina*), resolved in the year 55 B.C. to invade Britain. In the three preceding years he had extended the limits of vassalage to Rome as far as the Rhine in the east and the Atlantic in the west. Ambition stirred him to the idea of adding an unknown and fabled country to dependency on the capital of the world ; the desire of popular applause



and the possibility of another triumph urged him forwards; and the policy of extended government, which must necessitate an increase of legions under his command, doubtless had its weight. But his main object was to increase his revenue. All generals engaged in foreign war under the service of a commonwealth of which the executive government is swayed by popular opinion must have either friends or admirers at home to watch their interests and to sound their praises. Without these, every slight reverse is taught to the popular mind to be a serious disaster, every insignificant failure to be a terrible catastrophe, brilliant achievements are scarcely noticed, and self-sacrifice and ability under adverse circumstances barely recognized. In aristocratic communities, powerful leaders must be propitiated by those generals who desire popular fame; in democratic communities, those must be courted who can guide the opinion of the ignorant but noisy populace. Thus, at some periods of history we see generals in the field eager to gain patrician patrons, at others to win over newspaper correspondents. At Rome, in the time of Cæsar, venality ran high, and bribery was the readiest method of gaining supporters in the metropolis. A well-replenished chest was as necessary to Cæsar as the artillery of his army or the weapons of his legionaries. The easiest method to replenish his chest was to take captives who could be sold into slavery, and the fame of the large though uncomely size of the residents of Britain doubtless fanned his desire to make a descent upon the island.

The ostensible reason for the invasion was that the Britons had aided the Gauls against the Romans, and this reason we can conceive excited the legionaries to desire the enterprise; for we have seen within a few months how fiercely the anger of other invaders of Gaul could be raised against England by the idea that the inhabitants of Britain fostered the war against them. Having determined on the expedition, Cæsar sent over a Gallic chieftain, Commius—whom he had made ruler over a conquered tribe, and who was believed to have friends in the island—on a diplomatic mission, and with orders probably to reconnoitre. The instructions of Commius were to represent to the tribes on the southern coast the immensity of the Roman power, and to advise them to gain the favour of the Roman commander by a ready submission.

The Britons vouchsafed no answer, but arrested Commius and detained him in the island. No information of the resources or means of the country was gained from this source. The Gauls generally knew little of Britain; and the traders who visited the island, with a natural desire to retain the monopoly of its trade, with no affection for their Roman conquerors and with friendly feelings for the inhabitants of the island, could not be induced to play the part of spies.

Foiled in these endeavours, Cæsar sent one of his own officers, Caius Volusenus, in a fast war-galley to gain information. Volusenus hovered about the south-eastern coast for five days, and then returned to Cæsar with the report of the best survey which he could make from his



vessel, being unable or unwilling to land. His short absence would lead us to suppose that he readily discovered a favourable point for the Roman landing.

Cæsar, in the meanwhile, had marched into the country of the Morini, who inhabited the strip of coast between Calais and Boulogne. He had devastated the country of this people in the previous year, and now the greater portion of this tribe sent to him offers of submission and hostages. This the Roman leader regarded as a favourable occurrence, as the distance from the country of the Morini to Britain afforded the shortest passage, and he was glad to gain security for the port of embarkation: still, the troops not destined for the expeditionary army were sent against the Menapii and another tribe who had not tendered their submission, and, we can hardly question, were so distributed as to cover the port. This port is named by Cæsar the *Portus Itius*.<sup>1</sup> Of its exact locality there are great doubts. The places of embarkation and of landing the Roman army have been considered by various authorities, have been discussed by professional antiquaries and by learned men, but it is impossible to fix them exactly with any certainty, and we must be content to accept those which appear to satisfy most nearly the description given of them by Cæsar himself.

At this Itian port (which, perhaps, may have been the harbour afterwards named Witsand) Cæsar collected

<sup>1</sup> It may be objected that Cæsar only names the Itian port as the point of departure of his second expedition, but it is generally agreed that both expeditions embarked and disembarked at the same place.

about eighty merchant vessels. As these were deep and of heavy burden, he calculated that they would provide transport for his two legions, a force of about 8,400 combatants. He had also some fast galleys propelled by oars, and built for speed, which were suitable for the transport of staff-officers. Eighteen other merchantmen were collected at a port eight miles distant, which were to transport the cavalry, and join him as soon as the wind permitted.

It seems as if at sunset, when the wind usually falls, the embarkation of the infantry commenced at the Itian port. The cavalry were apparently retained to cover the embarkation, for it was not till the infantry transports were ready to weigh anchor, that the horsemen were ordered to march to the other port and to embark.

On a fine night, a little after midnight, the fleet got under way, and, with a gentle south-west wind blowing, stood across for the shores of Britain. About ten o'clock in the morning of the 27th August, Cæsar himself, with his fastest ships, brought up under the high chalk cliffs which fringe the south-eastern coast of Kent. At this rendezvous he awaited the remainder of his fleet, and, in the interval, called the superior officers together and informed them of what had been reported to him by Volusenus. He seems to have recognized the difficulty of landing in the face of an enemy, and particularly impressed upon them the necessity of adhering rigidly to punctuality and of attention to signal. When the vessels of the fleet were collected, and the officers were dismissed, the fleet weighed anchor,



and, with wind and tide favourable, stood along the coast, apparently down channel, until he faced the marshy tract between Sandgate and Rye, where now lies the creek of Lymme. The natives, who had assembled in large numbers on the cliffs on the appearance of the Roman fleet, moved along the coast as it steered down channel, and, before Cæsar's dispositions to disembark were complete, were on the shore ready to receive him. Cæsar was obliged to force his landing. His vessels were built for beaching; but the tide was low, the beach sloped gently, and the heavy vessels were unable to approach close to the land. The landing had to be effected under dangerous conditions: the Roman soldiers, who were put ashore in the small boats, could gain the beach only in insignificant handfuls, exposed to heavy showers of darts; and before they were able to form, encumbered with heavy armour in the water, were charged by the war-chariots and horses of the Britons, who fearlessly advanced into the water to meet them. The legionaries in the heavy vessels, strange to this wild warfare, seeing the danger of exposing themselves heavy with armour to attack in deep water, and in all probability, being unaccustomed to the sea, considerably demoralized by twelve hours on board ship, hung back. To cover their advance, and to clear the beach of its defenders, their commander detached his war-galleys, which were of lighter draught than the transports, and placed them over against the exposed flank of the enemy. Each galley carried on its fore-castle machines for throwing darts and stones; these

enfiladed the British line in the same manner as the heavy guns of a fleet would, if possible, be brought to bear upon the ranks of modern defenders to cover a landing. When the artillery fire, which caused some loss and surprised the natives by its novelty, had made the defenders withdraw slightly from the water, the boats of the larger vessels, filled with troops, again pulled towards the shore. Still the main body of the troops hung back, till the standard-bearer of the 10th Legion, calling to his men not to desert their eagle and suffer it to fall into the hands of the barbarians, leaped into the water and pushed for the shore. The contagion of example, as always in battle, resulted immediately in the general advance of the legionaries. As they gained the shoal water the ranks were formed, and then advancing with their short cut-and-thrust swords, they quickly drove back the savages. The Romans were superior in discipline and in armament; for the Roman soldier, with a short pointed sword, could easily with a thrust anticipate the blow of the long pointless sword of the native, which, if it did descend, fell harmlessly on helmet, cuirass, or shield; while the native, unprotected, except by a buckler, was fully exposed to a skilful thrust. The cavalry which Cæsar had sent to embark on his own departure had not arrived; and he could not pursue, in an unknown and difficult country, without scouts, and with night coming on. But the battle was won; the first descent on British soil that authentic history records, was successful; and that night the Roman camp was entrenched on British soil, and the Roman



sentry paced upon British ground. With the rising tide the Roman galleys were hauled up on the beach, and the Roman transports anchored in the harbour.

The natives, at first panic-stricken by their defeat when circumstances gave them such decided defensive advantages, sent envoys to Cæsar who carried with them the captive Commius. They made excuses for resistance, and promises of submission. To accept these tenders was Cæsar's policy. He directed them to send hostages, which they promised to do as soon as the necessary persons could arrive from the interior of the island. But on the fourth day a disastrous storm arose, which caused the Romans a double calamity, and encouraged the natives to attempt renewed hostilities. The Roman cavalry, which should have sailed from the coast of Gaul on the 27th August, and have landed at the same time as the infantry, took longer to embark than had been anticipated: when the embarkation was complete, the wind had changed, and the transports could not stand across the Channel. They were detained till the 30th August, when they sailed with a gentle east wind for Britain, and had already come in sight of Cæsar's camp when the breeze freshened to a gale, and the transports were dispersed and driven in confusion along the coast towards Beachey Head.

On the same night a greater calamity fell upon the invading force. Cæsar had probably on the coast of Gaul, when embarking his army, become aware of the normal ebb and flow of the channel tide, and his galleys were probably beached just above the usual high-water

mark. On the fourth night of the Roman stay in Britain an abnormal spring tide occurred, which was increased by the gale that had driven the cavalry transports away from the landing-place. The galleys on shore were lifted by the waves and dashed together: the transports at anchor, either dragging their anchors or not moored at sufficient distance, also came into collision. Twelve vessels were destroyed, and many more so much injured as to be no longer seaworthy. Cæsar saw his communications with the Continent threatened; he had brought with him no large stock of provisions, and his position became critical. To re-establish his communications, the artificers of the fleet were at once set to work to repair the damage done to the least injured vessels with the spars and stores of those that were no longer fit to take the sea. He soon had a diminished squadron ready to enable him to return to the Continent, but in the meanwhile his army had to be fed, and the only method by which food could be collected was to forage in the country near the camp. The British submission cannot have been very sincere, or the natives would have brought provisions to the camp; and the apparent difficulties of the Romans led them to open hostilities. The harvest was still upon the ground, and the legions were sent out in terror to gather in the corn. One day when the 7th Legion had been detailed for this duty, the British, who had watched their opportunity, dashed from the woods upon the soldiers while the latter were divested of their armour and engaged in gathering the corn. It seems extraordinary that this surprise could have been allowed



under the strict discipline of Rome ; possibly the absence of the cavalry prevented the outpost duty being carried out with proper vigilance, and probably the uncleared forest closely abutted on the ground to which, for the sake of food, the 7th Legion was now forced to advance. Few men can have been spared for the guard over the arms, as, deducting casualties, the effective strength of the 7th Legion can have been little more than 4,000 men. There was naturally no transport with the army, and the soldiers must have both cut and carried the corn into the camp. The Britons, waiting till the soldiers were dispersed, rushed upon them, attacked them furiously, killed many before they could regain their arms, and pressed those who did recover their weapons so heavily with charges of cavalry and chariots that the legion could not form into ordered line.

The dust raised by the fight was observed by the sentry at the Roman camp and immediately reported to Cæsar. Cæsar at once turned out the cohorts on guard, and, ordering them to be replaced by two others at the gate of the camp, started with them in the direction of the contest. The whole of the available force was ordered to get under arms, and to follow as rapidly as possible.

On arriving at the scene of action, Cæsar found the men of the 7th Legion driven together into a confused heap, which afforded an easy mark for the Britons, who were hurling upon them showers of javelins. By a steady charge on their assailants, Cæsar gave room to the men of the 7th Legion, and drove back the Britons sufficiently to allow the legion to get into regular order.

But the Britons, although repulsed, were not driven off; they again attacked, and it is evident by Cæsar's own despatch that he gained no success, and with difficulty covered a secure retreat for his harassed soldiery to the camp.

Encouraged by this encounter, the Britons flocked together in large numbers, prompted perhaps by the tales of the spoil found on the killed Roman soldiers as much as by patriotism, and advanced to an attack upon the Roman camp. Cæsar appears to have drawn out his troops to meet them in a favourable position, chosen probably where his flanks would be secure from the chariots and cavalry, and where a reinforcement of Gallic cavalry which had arrived could act advantageously. A pitched battle was fought in front of the camp. Cæsar won a victory which allowed him to quit Britain with success: the Britons fled, and the Romans pursued them, but without very marked results. On the same day the natives sent to Cæsar a deputation to sue for peace. Cæsar demanded double the number of hostages he had before exacted, and then, convinced that a much larger force than that he had with him was necessary to subdue the island, as the equinox was near at hand, set sail with a favourable wind, and, after a visit of less than three weeks, returned to Gaul. In the next year he determined to revisit the island. During the winter Cæsar himself visited Italy, but great preparations for the expedition were made during his absence. The fleet was remodelled, and the transports were made lower and wider so as to admit of their more commodiously receiving cargoes of



horses, and of being more conveniently hauled up on the beach. The expeditionary force was collected at the Itian port: it consisted of five legions, or about 20,000 men, with 2,000 Gallic cavalry. Labienus was left with three legions and 2,000 cavalry to maintain tranquillity in Gaul.

The army was embarked on 800 vessels, and conveyed to the place of disembarkation of the previous year. The Britons, alarmed by the magnitude of the Roman preparations, made no attempt to oppose the landing. Cæsar had now ample opportunity to select a convenient site for his intended camp, which should cover the base of operations. Having established himself on the coast, he lost no time in pursuing the enemy. His cavalry apparently made some prisoners, and by their information he appears to have discovered where the British army was posted, and where his passage into the interior was to be barred. Ten cohorts and 300 cavalry were left as a guard over the ships; and the very night that he landed, Cæsar made a march of twelve miles, and came upon the British army. The natives had placed themselves under the supreme command of Cassivelaunus, the king of the Trinobantes, a tribe that lived on the north of the Thames. He encountered the Romans with no little military skill. The British chariots and horsemen disputed the passage of a stream, which seems to have been the Stour, but were driven back with loss by the Gallic cavalry. Cassivelaunus drew back his troops to a strong position, strengthened by barricades, but the 7th Legion carried the position, occupied the works, and

drove the enemy away. Pursuit was, however, forbidden, as the Roman staff were ignorant of the nature of the country. Early next day the Roman army had scarcely begun its advance, in three divisions, when mounted messengers arrived from Quintus Atrius, who had been left as commandant of the port of debarkation, to announce that, in the storm over night, the fleet had been washed ashore and seriously damaged. The disaster of the previous year had recurred. The troops were countermanded, and Cæsar hurried back to the port of debarkation. The artificers were at once set to work to repair the injured vessels, and a message was sent to Labienus for as many vessels as he could send. When the ships were repaired, they were hauled up on the beach, and a line of intrenchments, which required ten days and nights to complete, was formed to connect the military and naval camps, and cover the port. The Roman army then recommenced its attack. Cassivelaunus, with true tact, avoided general actions. His tactics were to make a dart with his mounted corps, and then to rapidly retreat. When the prospect of battle seemed over, and the Romans had commenced to fortify their camp, suddenly the shouts of the British were heard: the chariots and native cavalry burst out from the alleys of the forest, and charged before the soldiers had time to seize their arms. Cæsar himself admits that his veterans were scared by this, to them, novel mode of warfare. As soon as the Roman troops were formed, the natives retreated under cover of a shower of javelins. The cavalry of the invaders could not



pursue them unsupported by infantry ; for the Britons, often simulating flight, would draw the Roman horsemen after them, and when the latter were beyond the support of the infantry, would jump from their chariots, and, in the broken ground, fight on foot with every advantage. The Romans certainly remained masters of every field, but only after severe and annoying combats, and at the cost of heavy losses.

The Britons were always repulsed, but never defeated. They watched every movement of the invaders, till on one day, after they had seriously threatened the Roman cavalry on a previous day, they fell upon a force of three legions and all the cavalry which had been sent out to forage. The Britons fought with great courage, but pushed their attack too far. The Roman soldiers, although, encumbered with armour, they could not pursue the wild enemy, could defend a position, and drove off their assailants with heavy loss. After this defeat his allies forsook Cassivelaunus, and the defence of the country by its united forces was at an end. The authority of Cassivelaunus over his own tribe had been gained by violence and fraud : his rival was a refugee in the Roman camp. It was only by means of continuous success that Cassivelaunus could keep his army together, and as soon as fortune deserted him his troops fell to pieces. He himself retired to his own chief town, a stockaded pah among the woods, with the force that still stood by him, where great quantities of cattle, which probably formed the main wealth of a British chieftain, were collected.

Cæsar determined to carry the war into the territory of his chief opponent. To do so he marched upon the Thames, and, although opposed by the advanced British troops, forced the passage of the river at a point which seems to have been the Curay Stakes, between Walton and Weybridge. When Cæsar was about to cross the Thames, Cassivelaunus sent to four of the minor kings of Kent, and urged them to attack the Roman harbour and cut the line of Roman communications. No better military movement could have been suggested, but the attack was repulsed with great loss.

The Roman main army advanced and placed Mandubratius, its ally, at the head of the Trinobantes, who submitted to Cæsar, sent him hostages, and a supply of corn. The Romans discovered, from the Trinobantes, the fastness of Cassivelaunus, which they found well fortified both by art and nature. Cæsar stormed it at two points simultaneously: the Britons could not long withstand the attack of the legionaries; the place was carried, many of the defenders were killed, the rest fled, and a large store of cattle fell into the hands of the conquerors.

After the loss of his stronghold and the failure of the attack from Kent on the Roman port, Cassivelaunus abandoned any further hostilities, and employed Commius to negotiate for peace. The terms were readily agreed to, as the summer was well advanced, and the state of Gaul made Cæsar anxious to quit Britain. The terms were not severe: an annual tribute was to be paid to Rome; hostages were to be given; and



Cassivelaunus bound himself not to interfere with Mandubratius or the Trinobantes.

Cæsar then led his army back to the naval camp, it may be presumed, without interruption. As his numbers are stated to have been largely increased by the number of his captives, it may be assumed that the slave-catching speculation had been profitable. He intended to transport his army in two voyages, but after awaiting some time the return of the vessels which had taken over the first division of the army, and the arrival of those ordered from Labienus, which were detained by the prevalence of strong head-winds, he crowded his whole force on board such vessels as he had, sailed at night with fine weather, and landed safely in Gaul at dawn next morning, after an absence of about four weeks.

Except for the slaves, the British expedition does not appear to have been very successful, yet the large force of vessels employed would seem to betoken that the conquest and reduction of Britain were contemplated. Cæsar was content with restoring Mandubratius, but did not leave a single fortified post or garrison in the island to protect his interests, and there was little guarantee in consequence for the quiet of Cassivelaunus. Many educated Romans thought but little of the expedition<sup>1</sup> to Britain, though the chained captives delighted the populace, and the chaplet of British pearls presented by the commander to Venus may have excited national vanity.

Britain sent no tribute in consequence of this invasion.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Lucan, "*Pharsalia*," ii. 572; Tacitus, "*Agricola*," 13.

Rome did not attempt to exact its payment. The short remainder of Cæsar's life was fully occupied in crushing the last partial efforts of the Gauls to recover their independence, and in political strife. After Cæsar's death, the Roman world was again torn by civil war and revolution; and the Emperor Octavianus Augustus, who came out of that stormy period the ultimate victor, was little disposed to extend the Roman dominion to Britain. Neither his policy nor his nature prompted such a step. British refugees occasionally appeared at Rome to solicit the aid of the Emperor against their fellow-countrymen, being sent on from Gaul, where they had besought the assistance of the Roman governors. These were treated with studied deference, in order to make them appear to the Roman populace as the delegates of the whole British nation; but Britain was practically independent, and paid no tribute, notwithstanding the invasion of Cæsar.

SYNOPSIS OF EVENTS BETWEEN THE INVASIONS OF JULIUS  
CÆSAR AND THE INVASION OF CLAUDIUS.

During this period of independence, which lasted nearly a century, Roman merchants and traders from Gaul visited the island, and great progress was made in civilization by its people. A currency, the sure sign of the advancement of civilization due to commerce, is believed to have been instituted in his dominions by Canobelin, the successor of Cassivelaunus. He, while Augustus was Emperor of Rome, acquired supreme



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power over nearly the whole of southern and central Britain. Northward of his territories, the kingdom of the Iceni opened from sea to sea, from Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk to the western coast of Wales. The Mersey and Humber separated the Iceni from the Brigantes, who formed the third great federation, and occupied the land from sea to sea, up to the mountains of Caledonia.

## CHAPTER II.

### INVASION OF CLAUDIUS.

[AUTHORITIES.—Tacitus ; Martial.]

AFTER Britain had enjoyed nearly a century of independence, the fifth of the Roman emperors, Claudius, in A.D. 43 was induced by British refugees to renew the enterprise of the first Caesar. The general, Aulus Plautius, was then despatched to Britain. He had considerable difficulties in inducing his soldiers to embark for a land which they considered beyond the confines of the world, but ultimately conquered their prejudices, and landed on the coast with a force of four legions and a body of German auxiliary cavalry. These horsemen were of great use to the Roman general, by swimming rivers and dashing at the Britons in positions which the latter regarded as inaccessible. Plautius and his lieutenant, the celebrated Vespasian, under whom served Titus as tribune or colonel, overran the southern district of the island, reduced the Isle of Wight, and marched upon the capital town of the Trinobantes, which seems to have stood on the site of the modern Colchester. Two of the sons of Canobelin had organized the defence against the invaders. Of these, one was



slain in battle near the Thames; the other, Caradoc, or Caractacus as named by the Roman writers, acquired a mythical fame almost equal to that of Arthur, by retreating into Wales, then the country of the Silures, and continuing thence his resistance to foreign invasion.

Plautius drove the remnants of the British army before him to Camelodunum, but did not attack the town until he had induced the Emperor in person to be present at the battle which might be supposed to seal the fate of Britain. Claudius came from Rome to the Roman camp before Camelodunum, was present at an easy victory gained over the disheartened and disorganized British, and accepted from the Trinobantes the surrender of their town and their tender of submission. After this success, in which he gained some popular glory, Claudius returned to Rome.

The south and south-east of Britain was now secured to Rome by the conquest of Kent, which had been effected simultaneously with the campaign against the Trinobantes, and by the allegiance of the tribe of the Regni, who inhabited the county of Sussex, and whose chieftain, Cogidunas, in return for increased territory, became the dependent ally of Rome; for Rome in new provinces, as England once in India, was constantly fain to rule the land under the plea of alliance with its rightful sovereign.

The Iceni did not withstand, certainly not for long, the Roman power; but the inhabitants of Hampshire and Wiltshire fought bitterly for the independence of their country. They were, however, subdued, and their

principality given over to Cogidunas. The whole force of the Roman army in Britain could then be turned against the mountainous district where Caractacus and the Silures defied the southern conquerors. It is utterly impossible to trace what battles the gallant son of Canobelin fought against the advancing tide of Roman success, or what raids he made from the shelter of the mountains into the districts where his enemies had settled. It seems probable that for nine years, with varying success, Caractacus carried on the war, and fought many drawn battles. It is certain that his valour and military skill gained the panegyric of his enemies. At last, as legend tells, the British chief was driven to bay at the lofty hill of Caer-Caradoc, in Shropshire. The Roman troops under Ostorius Scapula stormed the position in the face of a determined resistance. The wife and children of Caractacus were taken captive, and his remaining brothers surrendered themselves in despair to the Roman leader. Caractacus himself escaped from Caer-Caradoc to the principality of Curtismandra, his mother-in-law, who was then the queen of the Brigantes. She, probably a dependent ally of Rome, betrayed her son-in-law to the Romans, and Caractacus was taken prisoner to Rome, with his wife and children, to add lustre to the triumph which the Emperor Claudius held for the conquest of Britain.

The Roman historian tells that during the triumph, Caractacus, while being marched past the chair of the Emperor as a captive in chains, solicited an audience of



Claudius. His request was granted, and the British chief, who it must be supposed had become conversant with Latin at the court of his father Canobelin, addressed to the Emperor of the World a speech which still forms one of the brightest gems in the pages of Tacitus, but which reads more as if it expressed the sentiments of the historian than of the Briton. The Emperor, moved by one of those fits of generosity which are so often recorded in the lives of men in high positions, ordered that the life of Caractacus should be spared, and that he should be freed from his chains. His family also met with the Emperor's favour, and it seems probable that his children remained in Rome and adopted the Claudian name. Indeed, there is ground to believe that Claudia, the daughter of Caractacus, "Claudia of British race," with her husband Pudens, were some of the earliest converts in Rome to Christianity, and that they were the Claudia and Pudens mentioned by St. Paul among the friends whose greetings were sent from Rome in the well-known epistle.

While the war with Caractacus was still being carried on on the frontiers of Wales, the Romans were consolidating their power in the south and south-east of Britain. Camelodunum, which became almost the head-quarters of the Roman power, was rebuilt by a large number of discharged legionaries, who there received grants of land : in place of the wretched cabins of the former inhabitants, a theatre, a senate-house, and temples to the Roman gods, the most conspicuous of course to the deity of the hour, the divine Emperor Claudius, were reared. Another

Roman settlement was planted at Verulam, on the road from Camelodunum to the coast: and London, although not a garrison town, became a thriving commercial depôt.

From this influx of civilization no doubt Britain gained many advantages; but there were concomitant disadvantages. A severe and arbitrary military conscription drew away the ablest and best of her youth to fight in Roman legions on the Danube or the frontiers of Germany, where they often found an unknown and unheeded grave. Some of the most stalwart of her sons were carried to the capital, to please in gladiatorial shows a lascivious populace with the agonies of their death-throes. Arbitrary and frequent requisitions of provisions for the troops, and of military stores, were made throughout the conquered portion of the island, and the weight of taxation bore heavily on the subdued population. The Roman officials, unless restrained by energetic superiors, ruled the natives with insolence and brutality. Such treatment roused the feelings of the people into disaffection, which was continually fanned by the exhortations of the native hierarchy. The Druids established in the island of Anglesey were energetic propagandists of revolt and resistance. To crush this evil at its fountain-head, Suetonius Paulinus, in A.D. 61, who had lately assumed the command of the Imperial forces in the island, a general of high ability and great resolution, determined to strike a heavy blow against the citadel of opposition to Rome. He concentrated the finest troops under his command on the north-western coast of Wales. The Menai Straits were crossed by the infantry in boats of



light draught, while the cavalry either waded or swam. The passage to the island was forced, notwithstanding both the force of British arms and the terrors of British religion ; for the priests, with dishevelled hair, mingled with the warriors to oppose the landing. After a short but desperate conflict, the island was gained, and the Roman soldiers gave to the sword and fire the Druids, their defenders, their shrines, and their groves.

But while Suetonius was subduing Anglesey, the rest of Britain was almost lost to Roman rule. Prasutagus, the king of the Iceni, who had been a devoted adherent to Rome, had, dying, made the Emperor co-heir to his kingdom with his two daughters. The Roman agent appointed to watch the Imperial interest had scourged Boadicea, the widow of Prasutagus, on the pretext that she had secreted some of the State property, and had handed over her daughters to the brutal violence of his slaves. Boadicea called on the Iceni, fired by such outrages, for revenge. A general rising took place. Every partisan, every official of Rome was massacred. The Iceni poured over the country of the Trinobantes, and called their British countrymen to their aid. The call was promptly answered. Camelodunum was stormed and burnt ; Verulamium met with a similar fate ; and London, which was largely inhabited by Roman settlers, was utterly destroyed. It is said that 120,000 Britons took part in this rising, and that 70,000 Romans fell victims to their fury.

The news of these disasters recalled Suetonius from the west. With the 14th Legion and its auxiliary

cavalry he moved eastwards. On his march he was joined by part of the 20th Legion. Of the two other legions which formed the garrison of the island, the 9th Legion had been already defeated by the insurgents, and the commander of the 2nd Legion feared to leave his intrenched camp. Suetonius had only a force of about 10,000 men with which to engage the whole strength of Boadicea ; but discipline and organization, as it ever must, won the day against a larger number of disorganized troops, however much excited or devoted. The Britons were defeated with a loss of, it is said, 80,000 men, and Boadicea poisoned herself on the defeat of her countrymen.

SYNOPSIS OF EVENTS BETWEEN THE INVASION COMMENCED  
BY CLAUDIUS AND THE PROPOSED INVASION OF SEVERUS.

Britain sank into the quiet of exhaustion, but the terrible nature of the rising taught the government at Rome the necessity of a milder rule in the island ; and in A.D. 78, Julius Agricola was sent by the Emperor Vespasian as governor of the island and commander-in-chief of the military forces in Britain. Agricola was not only an able general, but a consummate statesman. After again reducing Anglesey, and in eight campaigns quelling all revolt in Southern Britain, he twice led his forces north of the Forth against the Caledonians, who had begun to molest their southern neighbours. To check their inroads, he built a line of fortifications across the island from the Forth to the Clyde, and defeated their chief



Galgacus in a conflict under the Grampian hills. During these campaigns in the extreme north, the Roman fleet, sailing along the coast, co-operated with the army; and when the troops retired to winter quarters, it sailed round the north of Scotland, and established the fact that Britain was an island. But during his military labours Agricola did not neglect the pacification of the conquered country. He established a fair and equal rule for both Romans and Britons; he taught the Britons the value of the conveniences of civilization, and made them acquainted with the Latin tongue. Every precaution was taken to make the chains of the islanders as little galling as possible; and the Britons, gradually acquiescing in the new order of things, became incorporated members of the Roman Empire.

The Roman towns were restored. Roman villas and houses nestled in the nooks and hollows of the undulating downs of the south, and of the more rugged mountains of the north: roads, constructed with marvellous engineering capabilities, were made from place to place, harbours were opened, ports constructed, and commerce developed and stimulated.

Britain, subdued and pacified, gave little further inconvenience to Roman rulers, and for many years after the viceroyalty of Agricola is barely mentioned by Roman historians. The wild tribes of Caledonia, defended by inaccessible mountains, and intrenched in impassable morasses, made frequent raids on the cultivated and civilized districts of the south. These incursions had evidently become formidable when the Emperor Hadrian

visited the island in A.D. 120. He did not seek to punish the aggressors, but to limit their forays into the south ; he gave up the lowlands of Scotland, and built an interior intrenchment to that of Agricola, from the Tyne to the Solway Frith. Afterwards, while Antoninus Pius was Emperor, a Roman general, Lollius Urbicus, swept the Scottish lowlands of highland marauders, and raised a second intrenchment on the site of the line of Agricola, which was named by the Romans the wall of Antoninus, and now known by the peasants as "Graham's dyke." None of these defences effectually barred the descents of the highlandmen, as the border strife was continuous, and the Meatae are often noticed as the most formidable tribe that disturbed the quiet of the northern regions of Roman Britain. Beyond the *rayon* of these northern forays Britain became thoroughly Romanized ; and when civil commotion and the favouritism of a distant soldiery swayed the election to the Imperial purple, she had no slight influence on the fortunes of the whole Roman world.



## CHAPTER III.

### PROPOSED INVASION BY SEVERUS.

ON the death of Pertinax the Prætorian Guards sold the Empire to Didius Julianus. The receipt of this intelligence had much the same effect in Britain as if in the present day a local British army in India were to hear that the Household Brigade had surrendered London and sold the throne to an adventurer. The soldiers of the 2nd, the 20th, and the 6th legions,<sup>1</sup> who received no benefit from the transaction, naturally refused to acknowledge a sovereignty thus acquired: and their commander-in-chief, Clodius Albinus, for four years was in fact, though not in name, an independent sovereign in the island. The Illyrian legions declared their own leader, Severus, emperor. He overthrew a rival emperor created by the Syrian legions, and for a time simulated to court the friendship of Albinus. But Severus threw off the mask, and marched with an army against Britain. Albinus, with a true appreciation of a just insular policy, did not await attack, but moved an army, largely recruited from Britons, into Gaul, and marched against Severus. At Lyons the decisive action

<sup>1</sup> These legions formed the greater portion of the localized garrison of Britain. See Poste's "Britannic Researches."

was fought, and the Britons bore themselves well in the combat, but the army of Albinus was defeated, he himself was captured and beheaded, and Severus remained the sole Emperor of the Roman World.

The lieutenants of Severus could not hold their own against the incursions of the Caledonian tribes, and in A.D. 208 the Emperor came to the island in person, determined to quell the Highlanders. He marched through their country to the farthest portion of Caledonia, making a military road as he went, and extorted the temporary submission of the natives. But only for a short time: the next spring the clans were again in arms, and before Severus could undertake a second campaign, he died at York, A.D. 211.

#### SYNOPSIS OF EVENTS BETWEEN THE PROPOSED INVASION OF SEVERUS AND THE ENGLISH INVASION.

After the death of Severus, little is said of Britain by Roman writers. The incursions of the northerners continued, and towards the end of the third century the naval marauders from the coasts of Germany began to annoy the Romanized portion of Britain. Their attacks became so formidable that the Emperors Diocletian and Maximianus appointed Carausius specially to guard the province against these inroads. Carausius first appreciated the necessity that Britain must, to be secure, command the seas. He formed an efficient fleet, and for a while the island was safe from foreign aggression, and Carausius was even admitted to an equality with the



rulers of Rome. After Carausius, Constantius ruled the island: his son Constantine was elected Emperor at York. Under him and the princes who ruled after him till A.D. 363, Britain was generally quiet and prosperous, though occasionally vexed by the attacks of the German corsairs. At this time we find a change in the nomenclature of the Scottish tribes: they are no longer spoken of as Caledonians and Meataë, but as Scots and Picts. The Picts appear to have been a Highland tribe which supplanted the Meataë; the Scots to have been a series of colonies of Irish who migrated into Scotland.

Theodosius for a short time drove off these assailants, and even cleared the country up to the line of the Clyde: but his was the last Roman rule which conferred tranquillity on Britain. Maximus drew from the island a large force of native troops to aid him in his attempt to secure the Empire, and planted them, on condition of military service, in Armorica, the modern Brittany, between the Seine and the Loire; but he perished soon after making this grant, and only conferred on Britain the not invaluable benefit of drawing away a considerable portion of Celtic blood from her population.

Germanic and Gothic conquerors were now overrunning the Roman Empire. Not content with predatory incursions, they were now aspirants to permanent acquisitions; and though Alaric was for a time successfully encountered by Stilicho, the latter was forced to concentrate the whole force of the Empire to resist the invaders. The legion which had guarded Britain from the Picts and Scots, and had garrisoned the lines of Severus,

was drawn away to take part in the battle of Pollentia. The Roman troops who remained, and the native auxiliary levies, seem to have busied themselves more with mutinies and squabbles than with organization for defence. After making two emperors, whom they almost as quickly deposed, a private soldier was saluted by them as Cæsar Augustus. He led troops into Gaul, was for a short time successful, but finally overthrown and killed. Honorius made, however, no attempt to recover the sovereignty of the island, and left the leaders of its various parties to quarrel among themselves and to subdue each other as best they could. In 410 A.D. he formally renounced the protection of Britain against its northern plunderers, and bade the Britons provide for their own defence.

The ravages of the Picts and Scots ever and anon caused the Britons, enervated by their former dependence on foreign guardians, to sue for help from the leaders of the Roman troops in Gaul, and sometimes temporary aid was granted them from the Continent. The last Roman officer who visited the island defeated and repulsed the Picts and the Scots, and repaired the walls of Severus and the fortifications on the coast. He strove to instruct the British leaders in the mode of defending their intrenchments, and in the manufacture of arrows; then, lending to them a large supply of weapons and military stores, re-embarked with his troops for the Continent, and the Roman eagle disappeared finally from Britain, 475 years after, in the hands of the ensign of the 10th Legion, it had first been borne upon our beach.



## CHAPTER IV.

### STATE OF BRITAIN AT THE TIME OF THE ENGLISH INVASION.

[AUTHORITIES.—Daubeney, Guizot, Poste's "Britannic Researches," &c.]

DURING the Roman occupation of Britain, the pure Celtic race must have been much tinged with foreign blood. The legionaries who were draughted as recruits into the island were formed here into a localized army, and localized armies must always be either a police over the local population, or become gradually members of the local population. The Roman villas, Roman architecture, Roman tessellated pavements, and Roman sculptures which are found in Britain, prove that the Roman army did not merely act the part of a police. The soldiers under the standards, who constructed the roads and intrenchments which have endured to the present day, doubtless were mere garrison troops, but on the completion of their period of service it is only reasonable to presume that many received grants of land and became permanent settlers on condition of military service. This service was hereditary, and was the origin in Britain of the Feudal system, which sprang from the Romans, not from the Celts or the Germans. Such settlers did not bring their women with them; they married with the

natives: and as the women naturally courted the conquering race, the higher classes must have soon gained a large infusion of foreign blood.

Rome also introduced into our country the germs of a representative government, municipal self-government, and the rudiments of the Roman law, as well as the improvement of vegetables, and modes of agriculture and horticulture previously unknown.<sup>1</sup>

Under the Roman rule the Christian religion became the established religion of Britain. The Bishop of Rome, enshrined in the lustre of the capital, was regarded as the great and final authority on spiritual matters. To him differences of religious opinion were referred; by him disputes as to doctrine were decided. Occasionally the torch of persecution swept across the island, and conservative officials no doubt made their antagonism to the creed which had supplanted the heathen mythology the excuse for many acts of cruelty and violence; but at the close of the Roman rule Christianity was established and recognized, although much deformed and dwarfed by the vices which the civilization of Rome introduced in company with many advantages.

From the time when the last Roman legion quitted the shores of Britain till the conversion of the English to Christianity, are truly the dark ages of England. Of the history of the country little can be gleaned; of the attempts to stem the English invasion, nothing almost can be ascertained.

<sup>1</sup> For interesting details on these subjects, compare Daubeney's Lectures, Guizot's Lectures, and Creasy on "The Rise of the English Constitution."



When the veil is lifted, and the light of records enables us to trace the course of events in our island, a great change has taken place. The Celt and the Roman are no longer the principal figures in the scene; the Englishman is the dominant power, and Britain has become England.

#### ENGLISH INVASION.

[AUTHORITY.—Gildas.]

For about half a century after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, the southern portion of the island was an almost helpless prey to the Picts and the Scots. But men of Teutonic race, who had already towards the close of the fourth century startled the country by descents upon the eastern coast, at the end of that time began to gain a solid footing in the island, and towards the finish of the fifth century had conquered a great portion. These Teutons or Germans, who before their descent upon Britain inhabited the lowlands which lie near the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, conquered in a different fashion from their kinsmen the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Franks, who overran the Roman provinces of Gaul and Spain. Before their arrival in Britain they had not come into contact with the civilizing influences of Rome either by fighting beside or against Roman legions. They were hardly known to Rome, and are only mentioned by the Roman historian among a long string of tribes. Of a sternly Pagan religion, they destroyed where they smote, and drove the Christian

religion and its Celtic and Roman votaries into the mountains which adjoin the western coast. The Teutonic invaders consisted chiefly of the tribes of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. They did not effect their conquest at one stroke, or in one body. At first, isolated bands seem to have settled on the shores of the islands, and, being besought to aid the natives against the inroads of the Picts and the Scots, drove off the northern assailants, and invited their kinsmen from Germany to assist them in their task. They seem first to have gained an equality, and then dominion over the country. Not without opposition, however, for the Britons made a long and desperate resistance, and fought more creditably against their Germanic foemen than did the peoples of France and Spain. But in vain. The fresh warriors from the sea defeated and drove back steadily the Romanized Celt. One considerable portion, landing on the coast of Kent, pushed up the valley of the Thames, carried the defile of Aylesford in a fierce encounter, and occupied London. Another large band, landing in the convenient anchorage of Southampton Water, made the line of the Itchen their base of operations, and established themselves in strong force where Winchester nestles among the rolling hills of the Hampshire downs. Between these bodies, their comrades, and the former inhabitants, there seems to have been a constant strife, which swayed backwards and forwards, but ever urged the Celts further from the rich plains and broad rivers of the south, towards the rugged hills and marshy woods of the west and north. Gradually from this conflict seven



greater English kingdoms were developed. The first, founded possibly in the middle of the fifth century, was that of Kent, by the Jutes ; in succession came Sussex, and Wessex the most renowned of all, the blood of whose founder, Cerdic, still beats in the pulse of the tenant of the English throne. Kent occupied the county still known by the name ; Sussex embraced Surrey and Sussex ; and Wessex at times extended from the frontiers of Sussex to the Severn and the morasses of Gloucestershire. In the east, the Angles formed a kingdom named East Anglia ; another band, pushing between East Anglia and the Thames, founded the kingdom of Essex ; while more to the north the celebrated Anglian leader, Ida, subdued the country between the Humber and the Forth, and laid the foundations of the kingdom of Northumbria. In the centre of the island, the men who lived upon the Marches, or boundaries of the other kingdoms, pushed forward against the Welsh—as our forefathers designated all men not of Teutonic blood—and formed the kingdom of Mercia, which comprised more than fifteen of the modern midland counties.

These seven states are usually called the Saxon Hierarchy, a term which constant use has rendered convenient ; but the term is not strictly correct, for at times the boundaries between these states faded away ; at other times the states were internally divided.

Besides these English possessions in Britain, important districts yet remained, where the Welsh inhabitants still were independent, and where Christians worshipped the true God. Cornwall was long held, and was known

as West Wales : the principality now known as Wales was also Welsh, and was distinguished as North Wales ; while farther to the north, Cumbria and Strathclyde, which comprehended Cumberland, Lancashire, and Cheshire, were held by the Celts. Of these, all except North Wales were conquered later by English kings. The population of Wales still retains its Celtic speech : elsewhere the tongue of the Germanic warrior has prevailed, and appears to have prevailed from the very date of conquest. When this is considered, and when we remember that the war for domination between the Teuton and the Celt was supplemented by the fierce bitterness of religious strife ; when we in vain seek to discover a due amount of relics of Romano-Celtic days, we may safely conclude that the war which our ancestors conducted in Britain was not only a war of subjugation, but a war of extermination. There was no cause for them to retain prisoners of war, or to accept the submission of subdued districts, except to make the prisoners or inhabitants slaves. Some women may have been spared for other ends, and some may have been raised to the dignity of marriage with a conquering Saxon ; but there is reason to believe that the Teutonic invaders brought their women with them, and that, in the fierce struggles which marked the origin of the Heptarchy, the Celtic blood was almost eliminated from our population. The various tribes of Teutonic race which settled in our island, not content with common war against the Welsh enemy, were perpetually engaged in quarrels with each other,—quarrels the cause of which it is



alike uninteresting and unimportant to endeavour to unravel.

During this period the English were still heathens. The Welsh do not seem to have made any attempt to convert them to Christianity, and are said, indeed, to have purposely abstained from preaching to their oppressors the tidings of peace and goodwill to all men. Nor is it probable that if a Welsh missionary had professed the Gospel to a fierce worshipper of Wodin, his words would have been hearkened to. The Welsh race was regarded as prostrate and unfit for any purpose but slavery, and a Virginian planter would as soon have dreamt of embracing the religion of Dahomey in deference to the solicitations of a hand on a cotton plantation, as would an English Eorl of listening to the most glorious truths of Christianity, if asserted by a member of the despised race. Our forefathers still worshipped Wodin, Thor, and Freia, still believed in Nastrond and Valhalla, and held exactly the same creed as they held in the deep forests of Germany before they sailed for England. They held that their kings were descended from Wodin, and probably no man would have been elected king who did not claim descent from that deity. Still, their kings were not purely hereditary; the king was really chosen, and he could not rule despotically, nor without the consent of the Witan. In every hundred and every shire there were smaller courts and larger tribunals for the judgment of criminals, the assessment of damages, and the consideration of legislation. Yet high birth, as in modern Germany, was held in great

esteem ; the free people were divided into the Ceorls and the Eorls, or "simple" and "gentle,"<sup>1</sup> while the Thanes seem to have been such Eorls as formed the landed aristocracy or were employed in the court of the king. These men were all free, although the Ceorl was transferred with the land, was forced to live as the client of an Eorl, and follow him to battle when required. Still there were many slaves in the island, naturally more in the shires close to the Welsh Marches than in the eastern parts. Some of these were prisoners of war, some the native Welsh, and some unhappy creatures who in times of privation or famine had sold themselves into slavery.

SYNOPSIS OF EVENTS BETWEEN THE ENGLISH  
AND DANISH INVASIONS.

Such were our forefathers up to the end of the sixth century. Then a new light dawned upon them. In 596 Augustine landed in the Isle of Thanet, and in the course of a century all England was converted to Christianity. Augustine and his assistants, chiefly monks, partly secular clergy, were allowed to preach the Gospel by Ethelbert, king of Kent, who allowed them to establish themselves in Canterbury. From Kent the good work spread abroad ; there were, indeed, many relapses of both princes and peoples into Paganism, but the Scottish missionaries in the north aided the preachers established by Augustine in the south. The last professors of the

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks of Sir E. Creasy on this head.



creed of our old fatherland of North Germany, the inhabitants of Sussex, were converted to the religion of charity and philanthropy by Bishop Wilfrith, in 681, who had been driven out of Northumberland by the prejudices of a narrow-minded prince.

Thus, in less than a century after Augustine bore the first invitation to Christianity in Kent, the whole of Britain, except perhaps the small colony of Jutes who dwelt in the Isle of Wight and the county of Southampton, embraced Christianity. From among the converts of England arose a Church which, for learning and devotion, not only commanded the admiration of Christendom, but which sent forth missionaries to preach the gospel of eternal life in foreign lands, and especially in our fatherland, the northern portions of Germany. Wilfrith, who converted the South Saxons, preached also to the Frisians, and many other English missionaries undauntedly carried the news of salvation among the benighted Pagans of Germany. Of those Wilfrith was the most renowned. He was the first Archbishop of Mainz, and founded there the See which was to Germany what Canterbury was to England. We have drawn from our parent stock manly virtue, freedom, self-dependence, and self-denial ; but we bestowed on our fatherland a gift greater than all these. By the instrumentality of Englishmen, Germany gained a greater boon than all these combined. Germans, by our means, were taught to love God with all their hearts, and to love their neighbours as themselves. If England owes Germany much, Germany owes England more.

From the time of their establishment to the commencement of the ninth century, the seven greater kingdoms of Britain remained to a certain extent independent of each other. But the different kingdoms were often at war with one another, and those that had Welsh frontiers were generally engaged in contests with the Welsh. Sometimes one kingdom was superior to another, and occasionally one king became so powerful as to obtain some sort of power over many of the others, and to exact from the others an acknowledgment of his superiority. In this case the king was called a Bretwalda. Of these there is a list in the old chronicles, but it is impossible to say exactly in what the power of a Bretwalda, beyond the limits of his own country, really consisted. It is sufficient to notice that at the commencement of the ninth century, Egbert, the heir to the throne of Wessex, who had been driven from his own country and educated in the court of Charlemagne, returned from his exile in France, was raised to the throne of Cerdic, and as Bretwalda established under his supremacy a federation of most of the states of England. From this time the power that one kingdom sometimes held over others became permanent in the royal house of Wessex, and in the course of the tenth century there ceased to be any other kings in England, and Edward, king of the English, became Lord of all Britain. He had inherited Wessex, Kent, and Sussex ;<sup>1</sup> Mercia, East Anglia, and Essex he and his sister won back from the Danes ; and North-

<sup>1</sup> For a most interesting account of how England became one kingdom, see Freeman's "Old English History."



umberland, Wales, Scotland, and Strathclyde did homage to him as Over-lord. No king of Britain had ever before swayed so great a power. No Bretwalda had ever exercised dominion over so large a kingdom ; none of them had so thoroughly curbed the Welsh ; and none, except those of Northumberland, had ever pretended to have any power over Scotland at all. From this time the king of England, on the faith of plighted homage, was the Over-lord of the Scotch and the Welsh, just as much as the Emperors of the Western Franks were Over-lords of the Dukes and Counts who held provinces within their dominions. When King Edward, the first of that name after the Roman Conquest, required the homage of the Scotch and Welsh, he did not, as is generally believed, rudely seek a power to which he had no legal claim, but merely sought to exercise those rights of the English crown which had been handed down to him by Edward surnamed the Elder, the son of Alfred the Great.



## CHAPTER V.

### DANISH INVASIONS.

BUT before Egbert had consolidated the federation of English kings, there were already symptoms of grievous trouble for England. The English rulers and the English people were assailed by a new race of conquerors, who threatened at times to crush the English almost as completely as they had crushed the Romanized Celts.

These were the warriors of Scandinavia, who came from the great peninsula of North-eastern Europe, and the islands and the smaller peninsula at its south, which now constitute the kingdoms of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. They are generally spoken of by the English chroniclers as Danes ; the French historians call them *Normen*, or men of the North ; and the buccaneers of the same stock who visited Ireland were called *Ostmen*. They were originally of close affinity with the continental Germans ; their language was a branch of the same stock ; and their political institutions were as free. As brave on land as his Teutonic kinsman, the Dane far surpassed the Teuton in enterprise on the sea. Led by their sea-kings, the Scandinavian pirates ravaged every coast of Europe during the ninth and tenth centuries, and left undying



and everlasting marks on the history of England and of France. Their inroads into England may be divided into three periods : the first period was that of plunder, when they merely made descents for the sake of spoil, and immediately sailed away with their booty ; the second period was that of settlement, when they formed Scandinavian colonies in the lands they invaded ; and the third period was when, with higher aspirations, they strove to conquer the land and acquire sovereignty over its former masters. In 789 their first recorded attack on our coasts took place, and their incursions continued till the year 1066, when they were defeated by Harold, the son of Godwine, at Stamford Bridge, a few weeks before he was overthrown and slain by a Northman by blood, though born in France—William the Conqueror. In 834 the Danes ravaged Sheppey, in Kent ; the next year, with thirty-five ships, they reappeared at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, where they defeated King Egbert. In neither case did they attempt to form settlements in our island ; and in the year 836 they were defeated by Egbert, although allied with the Welsh, at the great battle of Hengest-dun. The Danes were heathens, as the English had been, on their arrival in our island, and they seem to have at first borne a special hatred to the Christian religion. But when they settled in the country, their affinity of tongue and of race prevented them from remaining a separate people from the English, as the English remained separate from the Welsh, although they have stamped the peculiarities of their language and their blood on the names and population of the north-east of England.

Driven back by Charlemagne from the borders of his empire, and forced across the line of the Eyder, the Danes sought an outlet for their adventures in other directions. Repulsed by Egbert, they retired merely to return. In the reign of his successor, Ethelwulf, they reached London in one of their forays, and in 855 for the first time settled temporarily in the land, and wintered in the Isle of Sheppey. In the reign of Ethelred they attempted to settle permanently, but not at first, in Wessex. They invaded East Anglia in 866, crossed the Humber the following year, and took York. The next year we find them in Mercia, which they seem to have subdued as far as Nottingham; and then the English kings of East Anglia come to an end,—the province is thoroughly conquered by the Northmen, and a Danish settlement permanently established within its confines. From this base of operations they ravaged the country of the English; they took Peterborough and slew its monks, and in 871 entered Wessex, and fought several battles against the English, led by the royal family of that kingdom, in the neighbourhood of Reading. The kingdom of Mercia came to an end under Danish invasion; and Danish influence in this, as in other ways, aided the King of Wessex ultimately to become king of all England. Shortly after the accession of Alfred to the throne, the Danes divided the kingdom of Deira, and began to cultivate the ground with a view to permanent occupation. Guthorm or Guthrum, the Danish king of East Anglia, penetrated into Dorsetshire, and drove Alfred to seek refuge in the marches of the Parret, but the cruelties



of the Danes roused the population. Alfred emerged from his hiding-place, collected an army, and by the battle of Ethandun freed Wessex. The Danish leader was willing to make peace, and England was partitioned between him and Alfred. The boundary-line ran along the Thames, to the mouth of the Lea, and then by Bedford and the Ouse to the old Roman road known as Watling Street. Alfred reigned in the west, Guthrum in the east of the line. Before leaving Wessex for his own dominion, the Dane, with Alfred as his godfather, was baptized and received into the Christian Church.

But Alfred did not secure peace. In 885, the year in which France and Germany were for the last time united under Charles the Fat, a Danish force which had been plundering the coasts of Holland and Flanders, landed in Kent and besieged Rochester. Driven to the sea by Alfred, they effected another landing in Essex, and received aid from such of the East Anglian Danes as still remained pagan. Alfred's fleet engaged them, overcame them, and took away their treasure, but was in its turn overthrown by the East Anglian Danes, who in this war were apparently assisted by the great Rollo, who afterwards settled in Neustria, and founded the Duchy of Normandy.

The celebrated Hasting landed with his corsairs in 893, and threw up intrenched camps, where he established himself; and a marauding party of Danes from East Anglia, after sweeping from the Thames to the Severn, were driven by the lieutenants of the English king to Chester, where they defended themselves for a whole winter.

Towards the end of Alfred's reign, his navy, designed on new principles, and largely manned by Frisian sailors, seems to have been able to keep the outland Danes at bay, and in 897 the crews of two captured Danish vessels were hanged at Winchester.

In the early years of the reign of King Edward, who was the king of all England and Over-lord of Britain, the inland Danes submitted to him, and little trouble was given by Danes from without. To secure the submission of his turbulent vassals, or *men* as they were called in the Old English language, Edward took the precaution of erecting fortresses which would contain garrisons, to preserve order in the Danish territory, or to prevent Danish incursions into the English territories. At this time Chester, Bramsbury, and other places and castles, were fortified, and a strong frontier line of fortresses was raised at Bridgewater, Tamworth, Warwick, Hertford, and Witham in Essex. These precautions, and the effective policy of attacking the Danes instead of awaiting attack from them, seem to have had a due result; and although war with the Danes was continually maintained, the only trouble of importance during the reign of Edward, which the Danes inflicted upon England, was an invasion from the south, probably from Gaul.

But towards the middle of King Edward's reign a Danish settlement, more important in its results than any effected in England, was made on the Continent. In the year 913 A.D., when Charles the Simple, king of the West Franks, was ruling at Laon, and Robert was Count



of Paris and Duke of the French, Rolf the Ganger,<sup>1</sup> or Rollo as he is most commonly called, seemed inclined, after ravaging many districts, to settle somewhere. Charles and Robert proposed to him that if he would become a Christian, and cease from devastating the rest of the country, he should have a province to hold in fief of the king, and take the king's daughter to wife. Rolf agreed to this, and was baptized under the name of Robert, after his godfather, Duke Robert. The province granted to him was the territory on either side of the Seine, with the city of Rouen as its capital. To this he and his son William Longsword made great additions, until at last it included six bishops' sees, besides Rouen the archbishopric. These were, Evreux, Seez, Avranches, Lisieux, Coutances, and Bayeux. Soon the Danes of this territory began to leave off speaking Danish, and adopted the language of France so quickly, that when William Longsword wished that his son, Rollo's grandson, should learn Danish, he had to send him to Bayeux, where alone Danish was spoken. As the Danes acquired the French language and French manners, their name was converted from Northmen into Normans, and their land was called Normandy. Rollo was the first Duke of Normandy, and from him descended William the great Duke of Normandy, who, a century and a half after the establishment of the Danish settlement in Neustria, won the battle of Hastings and seized the crown of England.

<sup>1</sup> So called from his great height, which prevented him from riding the small horses of the North, and forced him to go on foot. See Freeman's excellent work, "Old English History."

The last Danish invasion from foreign parts during the reign of Edward seems to have been connected in some manner with the settlement of Rolf in Neustria. In 915 or 918 a fleet of Danes from the south, possibly a portion of the followers of Rolf who did not appreciate settlement and again began roving, sailed up the Severn and did much hurt to the coast of Wales. But King Edward kept watch over the coast of Somersetshire, and the Danes, after seeking to land at Watchet and Portlock, and being driven off at both places, encamped for a while on one of the islands at the mouth of the Severn, and then sailed away to Ireland. This is the last Danish invasion from without which can be traced in the days of Edward. Occasional marauders still visited the coasts, and gave aid to the Danes already settled in the island, against the English; for the wars between the Danes and English in the interior of the country continued to the end of King Edward's reign, and it was only in 917 that Derby was taken by the English, in 918 Leicester. Manchester in "Northumberland" was occupied, and Thelwall in Cheshire built, in 923. In this year York definitely submitted, but in the following year the English king had to fortify the passage of the Trent at Nottingham, to preserve his communications across that river unmolested.

King Æthelstan, successor of Edward, was forced to defend his land against the Danes from Ireland under Olaf, allied with the Scots under Constantine; but was freed from further molestation by the result of



the great victory which he gained at the battle of Brunanburh.

During the reigns of Edmund, Eadred, Edwig, and Edgar, the Danes were continuously troublesome to the English, but only from within. No great force of foreign Danes ever invaded the island. But in the first of these reigns a change was made through means of the Danes, which much affected the future of England, and which ultimately placed the country in that position in which we find it at the time of the Norman Conquest. The year after the hallowing of Eadred as king of the English by Archbishop Oda, the king went into Northumberland, and all the wise men of Northumberland, with Archbishop Wulfstan at their head, swore oaths to him. But afterwards they broke the peace, and elected Eric, the son of Harold Blaataud (Blue-tooth), king of Denmark, for their king. So King Eadred went and harried their country: in consequence they submitted, and drove out Eric; and King Eadred gave the Earldom of all Northumberland to Oswulf; and instead of princes more or less independent, earls or lieutenants of the king thus began to rule the states of the kingdom under the king.

The empire of Charles the Great, soon after the withdrawal of the strong arm and mighty will which had welded it together, was rent by civil strife. By the treaty of Verdun, France and Germany were separated, and became independent and often antagonistic powers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The union of these two countries under Charles the Fat was too short-lived to be important.

For a long period orderly government was restored neither by Italians nor Frenchmen. Germany was less afflicted with civil strife, but continental Europe was desolated by clouds of foreign invaders, who came indeed from different parts, but were all animated by the most fell hatred to Christianity. The Northmen scourged the districts of France, Belgium, and Germany which were on the sea-coast or could be approached by navigable rivers. Saracen invaders overran the greater part of Italy, and poured into Burgundy and Provence; and in the tenth century the Magyar tribes, passing through Germany, carried dismay into Italy and France. The geographical situation of England secured her from the Magyar and the Saracen, but the contest against the Scandinavians was long and severe; and that England was not crushed was due to such kings as Alfred, Edward Æthelstane, and Edgar.

These recognized the true policy of England, and saved her from foreign invasion by vigorous measures for the maintenance of the national defences, especially the navy. But England, though secure from foreign war, was not free from domestic discord. The quarrels between the secular and regular clergy ran high, and Dunstan, afterwards one of the best Prime Ministers that this country has ever known, caused great turmoil in the commonwealth.

Edgar was succeeded by his son Edward, who was murdered before he had reigned four years. Then commenced one of the most disastrous reigns that ever afflicted Saxon England. On the death of Edward, his



brother Æthelred the Unready,<sup>1</sup> as he was afterwards justly termed, was elected king of the English. In his reign we come to the third period of Danish invasions, when the Northmen, no longer content to plunder or to settle, determinedly strove to conquer.

The reason of this change in Scandinavian designs may be attributed to the changes which had lately taken place in the northern continent of Europe. Scandinavia, which had formerly been divided among many princes of independent tribes, had now settled down into the three distinct kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The Danish kingdom, although pushed back by Henry the Fowler from the Eyder to the Dannewerk, included the Danish islands, Jutland, and Scania, or the southern portion of Sweden. This kingdom was consolidated by Gorm the Old, who in A.D. 935 was succeeded by his son Harold Blaataud, or Blue-tooth, who was succeeded about 988 by his rebellious son Svein, or, in English, Swegen. Both before and after the accession of Swegen, the plundering expeditions of the Northmen against England were renewed, and in 994 we find Swegen allied with Olaf, king of the Norwegians, in a descent on England. They attacked London, but were repulsed, and reappeared on the south coast. Æthelred adopted the foolish and expensive policy of buying off the foes whom he dared not attack. The Danegeld was levied to furnish "a tribute for the Danish men on account of the great terror which they caused;" but the Danes either took the money and did not fulfil their share of

<sup>1</sup> So named from *Unrede*, void of counsel.

the treaty, or else returned for more, for we find Olaf and Swegen shortly afterwards wintered again in Southampton. Olaf, it is said by some, became a Christian in the Orkneys, where Norwegian settlers already held dominion; by others that he came to Andover, and was baptized through the instrumentality of King Æthelred. It is true that he became a Christian, and that the introduction of Christianity into Norway was greatly due to him. He perished shortly afterwards in a fight at sea with Swegen, king of Denmark, and from this time we hear no more of Norwegian invasions of England until Harold Hardrada descended on the north-east coast some seventy years later, and turned the scale of England's sovereignty.

To rid himself of the Danes, who had ravaged Devonshire, the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, and Dorsetshire, Æthelred, in 1002, caused all the Danes, of whom great numbers were living in England intermingled with the English population, to be massacred. This massacre took place on St. Brice's Day. Among the victims was the sister of Swegen, Gunhild, who had married and settled in England.

The deepest indignation was caused on the Continent by the massacre of St. Brice. Swegen collected a larger fleet and army than had ever been known in the North, and came to England to take vengeance for his sister and to conquer the land. He landed on the south coast of Devon, and obtained possession of Exeter, which was betrayed into his hands by a French governor appointed by Emma, the queen of Æthelred. Emma was the sister



of Richard II., duke of Normandy, and had brought over this Frenchman among others in her train. After gaining Exeter, Swegen marched through Southern England. The men of Hampshire and Wiltshire mustered to withstand him, but their traitorous leaders failed them. He marched to London, but was repulsed by the stout burghers of the city : still the Danes harried England, and in 1013 Æthelred fled from before them beyond the sea, and sought a refuge with his wife's kinsmen in Normandy. Just previous to this flight, Swegen, who had returned to England in 1013 after a short stay in Denmark, had gained without a blow all the Danish part of the north-east of England, and the five confederate boroughs, Stamford, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby. But not content, he pushed beyond Watling Street, leaving his son Knut with his fleet and his hostages. He marched straight through Mercia to Oxford, which he burnt, and thence to Winchester. He was soon acknowledged as king in all the land except London, and was counted as king over all England ; and the men of London also soon, thinking further resistance useless, submitted to him and gave hostages.

Before his victory was consolidated Swegen died, and the Danes of the fleet elected his son Knut as king ; but the English sent across the sea for Æthelred, and he returned to renew a struggle with the son of his old enemy, Swegen, which was only terminated by Æthelred's death in 1016. The war was bequeathed by an unworthy sire to a more worthy son. Edmund, known

as Edmund Ironside, mainly supported by the stalwart Londoners, rallied the men of Dorsetshire, Devon, and Wilts, and inflicted some heavy blows on the armies of the Dane. After five great battles, mostly in Edmund's favour, it was agreed that Knut and Edmund should divide the land between them. So the two kings made peace, and gave hostages, and divided the kingdom. King Edmund, it was agreed, was to be Head-king, and was to hold Wessex, Essex, and East Anglia, with the city of London, while Knut was to have Mercia and Northumberland.

Within a few months the gallant Edmund fell by the hand of an assassin. Knut the Dane obtained the whole land of the English nation, and established in England a Danish dynasty, which endured for three reigns.

It would appear at first sight that the efforts of King Alfred and the great English kings who pursued his policy had been rendered fruitless. But the Danes against whom Alfred fought, and the England for the independence of which Alfred strove, were very different from the Danes whom Knut led, or the England over which he obtained supreme power. The Danes were now a compact nation. Christianity had already made great progress among them, although the conversion of Denmark was not completed till the time of Knut. England in the days of Alfred was inhabited by numerous bands of English who had little national feeling in common, but an English nationality had been developed by Alfred and his immediate successors, as well as civic order and civilizing institutions, which were strong



enough to survive the unfortunate reign of Æthelred. Within the bounds of the English nationality many men of Danish blood had been included, and the enlightened and liberal Dane who now ascended the throne was very different from such bloodthirsty buccaneers as Guthrum and Hasting.

Still Knut was not, although elected by the Wise men of England, so secure on his throne that he did not wish to remove the English royal family from the land. The two young sons of Æthelred and Emma were with their mother in Normandy, but two sons whom Edmund had left were in England. These Knut sent to Olaf, king of Sweden, with the intention, it is said, of having them murdered abroad. But Olaf sent them to the court of Stephen, the first Christian king of Hungary, where Edmund died, but Edward was safely brought up, and married Agatha, the niece of the Emperor of Germany. He had by this marriage a son known as Edgar Ætheling, who afterwards is frequently mentioned in Old English history.

Knut, soon after ascending the throne, divided England into four parts. Wessex he ruled himself, but set Earls over the other three parts. Knut sent to Normandy and asked Emma, the queen of the late Æthelred the Unready, to be his wife. She accepted, and two children, of whom one was Hartha-Knut, were born of this marriage.

The year after his marriage, Knut laid a heavy tax on England, and especially on London, to pay off his Danish fleet. Of this the greater part now returned home. Afterwards, safe in his power by the possession of

several years, and by a marriage which in a measure made him less foreign to the English nation, Knut became gentler, and desired to become impartial between the English and the Danes. The taxes which the Danish invasions had imposed upon England he employed in purchasing the absence of unsettled Danes from the country. Of the armed Danes who accompanied him he retained but a few, whom he established as his body-guard. These were the origin of the Thing-men or House-carls. They were the first regular standing army maintained in England,<sup>1</sup> and, although of originally Danish blood, were recruited subsequently by men both of English and foreign race. Their number has been variously estimated from 2,000 to 6,000 men in the days of Knut. The House-carls were retained by his successors until the English household troops perished to a man around their standard at Senlac.

In another way Knut, who perhaps had more the talent of military organization than of command in the field, developed a great change in the military condition of England. We have already seen that he established, early in his reign, earls or lieutenants over some of the provinces of England. In 1020 this organization was completed. Formerly, in England, the ealdorman was the leader of the military forces of each shire, and all free men within the shire were bound to bear arms; but Knut centralized the military command of the

<sup>1</sup> This is true, but only to a certain extent. The Thanes of the court of the earlier English kings were practically a standing army, but were a band of officers, such as the Gentlemen-at-Arms of the present day.



provinces in the Earls, and so brought, perhaps a smaller, but a more efficient force into the field. In his reign, too, the armament of the English forces appears to have been altered. Formerly the English, like their Germanic ancestors, fought with a sword, a buckler, and a dirk; but the increase of wealth had greatly promoted the use of defensive armour. Against this the sword was of little avail. It was necessary to have an offensive weapon which should not only wound the body, but smash the armour which encompassed it; and in the days of Knut we find that the sword is laid aside, and the household troops of the king, if not the bulk of the English forces, were armed with the axe instead of the claymore.

The talent of the Danish king for military organization seems confirmed by the fact, that, although much absent in England, his officers on the Continent won for him the sovereignty of Norway and part of Sweden, and advanced the German frontier of Denmark from the Dannewerk again to the Eyder.

Among the earls whom he placed as lords-lieutenant over provinces, were Leofric, earl of Mercia, and Godwine, earl of Wessex. Of the origin of the latter remarkable man, little is certainly known, though much is confidently told. It is said that he was the son of a cowherd who saved the life of a noble Dane. It is certain that he rose to be the foremost man in England, and that his son was the last king who reigned in England before the Norman Conquest.

Knut, with a strong hand and iron will, established

peace in England. The Danes and Northmen, the former invaders of England, were now fellow-subjects with the English, and the latter were secured from their inroads. Indeed, Knut employed his English soldiers to tame the Northmen. Many Englishmen served him well in his campaigns against Norway and the Baltic; and his English fleet destroyed those of the petty kings of the North. During his reign a new enemy threatened the island. Robert, duke of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror, prepared a descent on England in favour of the sons of Æthelred, and fitted out a fleet to conquer England; but the ships were driven back and many of them damaged by a contrary wind, so that they came no further than the Isle of Jersey.

Knut, victorious over all his enemies, assumed the new title of Emperor of the North. But, notwithstanding his great victories and his military glory, the English antipathy to Danish domination broke out immediately after his death. Nothing remained of the apparent fusion of the different races over whom he ruled. The empire that for the moment he had raised above all the kingdoms of the North, melted away on the withdrawal of the strong arm which had welded it into one, in the same manner as the empire of Charles the Great. The Scandinavian populations expelled their Danish conquerors; and although the English, more early subjected, could not all at once regain their liberty, they commenced by intrigue a secret revolution, which attacked the power of the foreigner, till it was terminated by force.



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SYNOPSIS OF EVENTS BETWEEN THE DANISH AND NORMAN  
CONQUESTS.

[AUTHORITIES.—Knighton, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger de Hoveden, Thierry, Sharon Turner, Freeman, Palgrave, Sir Sibbald Scott, Meyrick, Grose, &c.]

Knut died in 1035, and left three sons ; of whom one only, Hartha-Knut, was the son of the Norman Emma. The others were the children of a former wife of English birth. Knut had desired that the son of Emma should be his successor ; and such a wish from a dying sovereign had usually much influence in the choice of the future king. But Hartha-Knut at the time was absent from England, in Denmark. The English, under the guidance of Godwine, earl of Wessex, elected Hartha-Knut, possibly to fulfil the Old English custom. The Danes of the fleet and the army proclaimed Harold, another son of Knut by a former English wife. Thus England was divided into two parties. The north was for Harold, the south for Hartha-Knut ; but the struggle carried on under these two names was really the struggle between the English and foreign elements of the society of England. The most remarkable incident of this struggle is that, while the son of a Norman woman was supported by the English party, the son of an English woman was the chosen prince of the Danish party.

A fierce war seemed inevitable between the people on the north and south of the Thames. A panic sprang up among the English of the north, who, although they acknowledged the Danish king, feared that they would

be treated as rebels. Whole crowds of men, women, and children quitted their homes and sought refuge in the islands of the marshes, which extended for more than a hundred miles over the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Lincoln. But the absence of Hartha-Knut was protracted. The enthusiasm of his Danish partisans subsided. Queen Emma made peace with the rival of her son, and gave up to him the treasure of Knut. Forced by her desertion to abandon the cause of Hartha-Knut, Godwine and the English chiefs of the west acknowledged Harold as king, swore obedience to him, and the claims of Hartha-Knut were for the time forgotten.

At this time the younger son of Æthelred the Unready and Emma, who, with his elder brother Edward, was living at the court of the Duke of Normandy, came over to England with the object of asserting the claim of his family to the throne. He came, however, with a retinue of Frenchmen; and the English leaders, foreseeing that to sustain this prince would be but the means of substituting a French for a Danish domination, would not support his cause. Alfred was seized at Guildford, and the greater portion of his followers slain, tortured, or mutilated, by the officers of Harold. He himself was carried to the Isle of Ely, in the heart of the Danish territory, where his eyes were put out, and he shortly afterwards died. Queen Emma, if she had the power, did not, it is said, interfere to save her son, and, it is even asserted, was herself privy to the cruelty. Godwine has been accused of



having betrayed Alfred into the hands of his torturers ; but there is no evidence to support the accusation, and it is unlikely that Godwine, who was the supporter of Hartha-Knut, would have betrayed Alfred to Harold. But the tale of Godwine's treachery was afterwards freely circulated in Normandy, no doubt to stir men's minds against the English party and its leaders. Shortly after Harold was acknowledged as king of all England, Emma was driven into exile, and sought refuge, not with her own relatives in Normandy, but with the Marquis Baldwin at Bruges.

On the death of Harold in 1040, the English, not yet bold enough to choose a king of English race, concurred with the Danes ; and Hartha-Knut, the son of Knut and Emma, was chosen king of England. He was at this time with his mother at Bruges, but messengers were sent to bring him to England. Hartha-Knut arrived with sixty vessels manned by Danes, and almost his first exercise of royalty was to levy Danegeld from the whole country to pay these followers. He then had the body of Harold torn up and thrown into a fire. Having given this proof of fraternal affection towards one brother, he commenced a judicial inquiry into the murder of Alfred. Godwine was one of the first accused. He presented himself, according to English law, with a large number of relations, who swore that he neither directly nor indirectly was concerned in the murder. But the English system of compurgation did not satisfy the Danish king until the fountain of justice was appeased by large presents bestowed by the accused. In his relations

with his English subjects Hartha-Knut showed more avarice than cruelty. He overwhelmed the country with taxes which excited discontent and revolt. The citizens of Worcester killed two of the House-carls who were employed in collecting the tax ; and although their town and minster were burnt in revenge, the burghers escaped to an island in the Severn, where they found safety. The Danish king was not the sole oppressor of the English. Under him were many foreign favourites of Danish blood who did not pay taxes, but shared the imposts levied by their leader, and heaped misery and insult on the English population.

The sufferings of the English people produced their natural results. Immediately on the death of Hartha-Knut in 1042, an insurrectionary army was formed under Houne.<sup>1</sup> Godwine, always the leader of the English party against foreign domination, took vigorous measures ; and before the burial of Hartha-Knut the English resolved to restore the House of Cerdic to the throne, and elected Edward, the son of Æthelred and Emma, king of England, on condition that he should bring but few Normans with him.

The struggle between Norman and English influence in England, which was only decided by the battle of Hastings, had commenced as early as the reign of Æthelred the Unready. In wedding a daughter of the ducal house of Normandy, Æthelred had entertained

<sup>1</sup> Knighton, lib. i. cap. vi. The rapidity with which the English took their steps seems as if a revolt had been contemplated, which was rendered unnecessary by the sudden death of Hartha-Knut.



the hope of gaining aid from the powerful relatives of his wife against the Danes. But he was deceived in his expectations.<sup>1</sup> The union which was to have gained defenders for England resulted only in bringing over from Gaul troops of hungry adventurers, greedy claimants for places and salaries. Many towns were entrusted by the weak Æthelred to the care of these foreigners, and when the Danish invasion came these were the first which surrendered to the enemy.<sup>2</sup> The influence of Emma employed many Frenchmen about the court. Had these men been even men of great capacity and the noblest principles, they would have been regarded with jealousy and distrust by the English nobility. In many cases they seem to have merited the distrust and aversion with which they were regarded.

The struggle between the French and English influence, although partially suspended during the Danish domination, was not extinguished. We can hardly discover the reasons that Godwine—whose policy was continually antagonistic to the French influence, and who, by education a Dane, was, before the ingratitude of Hartha-Knut, friendly to the Danish interest—should have supported the son of the French Emma against the son of Knut by an English wife, unless we accept the account which says that Emma's marriage with Knut resulted in hatred and antagonism to her earlier children, who were being educated in France.

<sup>1</sup> See the authorities quoted by Thierry for this argument. ("Norman Conquest," vol. i. p. 84.)

<sup>2</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, Roger de Hoveden.

Had Harold and Hartha-Knut been men of ability (even approaching to that of their father Knut), it is probable that the Danish dynasty would long have endured in England. But the sufferings of the people during late years had been insupportable. The English were determined to expel for ever the Danish family from the throne. To effect this revolution national unity was necessary, and national unity could not be secured except by the election of a prince of the House of Cerdic. No prince of this line, or Ætheling, was available except the son of Æthelred, for the son of Edmund Ironside was away in Hungary: rapidity of action was necessary, as there was a Danish party in favour of Knut's nephew, and it would, in the days of Godwine, have taken longer to recall a prince from Hungary than at the present time from the Himalayas. If an objection to Edward, the son of Æthelred, lay in his foreign education, it was stronger in the case of Edward, the son of Edmund, though probably the election of the latter would have been the more fortunate for England, as he would have been swayed by German, and not by French influences.

Edward accepted the condition offered to him,<sup>1</sup> and came to England, attended by but few Frenchmen. After being crowned in the Cathedral of Winchester, he selected as his wife, Edith, the daughter of the English leader to whom he owed his election.

The natural reaction from Danish administration made the English laws dear to the English people, who sought to return to the legal state as it had been administered

<sup>1</sup> Henry of Huntingdon.



under Æthelred. The laws and institutions which had prevailed in England in his reign, were sought out and re-established as far as possible; and the rules which now guided the jurisdiction of the land, were known for many years afterwards as the laws of King Edward.

During the reign of Edward, the system of secondary rule by means of lords-lieutenant of provinces was fully developed. Edward, naturally of a weak and easy mind, was rendered still less adequate to hold the reins of the kingdom, by the almost total attention which he bestowed upon personal religion. This attention gained him the name of the Confessor, but blinded his eyes to the necessities of his land. Under his reign the country was really governed by a few powerful nobles. Leofric was Earl of Mercia; Siward Earl of Northumberland; and the most powerful and popular of all, Godwine, was Earl of Wessex. During the reign of Edward there was little war between England and the Continent. Magnus, king of Norway, made an attempt to invade England, but was met at sea by Swegen, king of Denmark, the ally of the English, and hindered from coming. The enterprise of Magnus was, however, renewed by his son Harold with more success.

At home there was always border fighting with the Welsh; but Harold, the son of Godwine, the king's general, not only drove back the mountaineers, but pursued them in the mountainous country in which the Welsh thought themselves secure from the heavy-armed English troops; for Harold made his House-carls exchange their hauberks

of interlinked chain-mail<sup>1</sup> for scale-armour, made of leather; and his men, thus lightly equipped, could meet the mountaineers on even terms. Harold completely subjugated Wales, and established Hereford as a fortress, with lines in its vicinity to protect England from any future Welsh incursions.

But under apparent prosperity germs of trouble and ruin were being silently developed. Edward, the son of a Norman mother, brought up in France from his infancy, returned to England more a foreigner than an Englishman. His companions, his amusements, and his cherished relatives were foreign. He had undertaken to bring with him few Frenchmen, and few came with him; but many followed him. All those who had aided him in his exile, for whose assistance while banished he owed gratitude, hastened to urge their claims upon him. The softness of his heart seems to have been his greatest misfortune, for, desirous to repay the services which Frenchmen had rendered to him, he gave all the high dignities of Church and State to men born in a foreign land.

Normans and Frenchmen had high offices and large estates bestowed upon them, and the latter began to build castles, as was not then the custom in England. Fortresses had been raised in England by Edward the Elder; but the construction of individual fastnesses dates from the days of the Confessor. The English people looked with dislike on the construction of these strongholds, which gave their owners a power never before con-

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Armour, i. 62.



templated by the landed aristocracy, for the oppression of the rural districts.

None who sought favours in the French tongue met with denial; the language of France became the language of the court, and the language of the country became an object of ridicule in the eyes of the courtiers. The English nobles who were anxious for the King's favour, learnt the foreign tongue and adopted foreign fashions. They abandoned the long Saxon cloak for the short wide-sleeved Norman pelisse; they imitated in their handwriting the lengthened form of the French letters: instead of signing their names at the bottom of civil acts, they affixed seals according to French custom, and were willing to abandon national habits to the lower class.

But Earl Godwine and his sons, the rulers of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, East Anglia, and Mercia, saw under another form the revival of a foreign government. The men who already wished much that England might be free, resisted with their influence the invasion of foreign habits. A fierce jealousy, and at last open hostility, sprang up between the party of the court and the party of the people.

Godwine at one time fell a victim to his sturdy defence of English law. He refused to chastise the people of Dover without trial, who had resisted the unauthorized billeting of the troops of Eustace of Boulogne on their town. The King, supported by the Earls of Northumberland and Mercia, obtained the outlawry of the family of Godwine by the Witengemote, and the leader of the national party and his sons for a while were outlawed

from England, and obtained refuge with Baldwin of Bruges.

On the departure of Godwine, the foreign influence in England seems to have become irresistible ; and a visitor came to King Edward, who probably would not have come had Godwine's counsel still been heard. This visitor was William, duke of Normandy, natural son of Robert, the sixth duke, by the daughter of a tanner of Falaise. He had, at seven years of age, on the departure of his father on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, been left heir to Normandy ; and although, on the death of his father, Norman nobles rebelled against his claim to the dukedom, William's cause was supported by the King of France, and his opponents silenced by the defeat of Val-ès-Dunes.

The Duke of Normandy, who now visited England, might well have imagined that he had hardly quitted his own duchy. Normans officered the fleet he found lying at Dover ; Norman soldiers formed the garrison of the fortified post at Canterbury ; and everywhere Normans, in the dress of soldiers or prelates, greeted the chief of their native land, their natural Seigneur.<sup>1</sup> William appeared in England a king superior to Edward himself, and his observations cannot fail to have made an impression on his ambitious mind. As William always maintained that Edward had left him the English crown, it is probable that at this time Edward gave him some kind of understanding that he should be the heir. But the crown was not the King's to leave. The suc-

<sup>1</sup> Thierry's "Norman Conquest."



cessor had to be determined by the election of Englishmen, and on his death Edward did not even recommend Duke William to the consideration of the electing body of Englishmen. But Duke William and his followers were received with great honour, and when they went away were loaded with arms, horses, dogs, and falcons.<sup>1</sup>

Within two years of his banishment, Earl Godwine, who could not obtain an audience of the King to a peaceful appeal, collected a fleet and sailed against England. The royal fleet, commanded by Frenchmen, failed to prevent his landing. War was averted by the mediation of Bishop Stigand, and the settlement of Godwine's case submitted to the decision of the Witen-gemote. During the absence of Godwine the French party at court appears to have become more distasteful than before to the English, and troubles had sprung up on the Welsh frontier, which were only finally quelled under the generalship of Harold, son of Godwine.

At the Witengemote the supporters of Godwine carried all before them: the Earl and his sons were restored to their homes and possessions, and Queen Edith, who had been banished by the King from the palace to the convent of Wherwell, was recalled. The French favourites and courtiers, the French archbishops and bishops, in great part fled from their offices and their sees. Some crossed the channel to France; some retired to the shelter gladly provided for them by Macbeth, king of Scots; and all, except a few near attendants on the King, were outlawed. Shortly afterwards Earl Godwine died.

<sup>1</sup> Roman de Rou.

His son Harold was made Earl of Wessex, and Ælfgar, son of Leofric, was made Earl of East Anglia. So the house of Leofric had now two earldoms, and that of Godwine only one.

From this time Harold the son of Godwine became the most important man in the kingdom, and his power was augmented when the old Earl Siward died, as Tostig, brother of Harold, was made Earl of Northumberland. About this time an embassy was sent to Germany to solicit the Emperor to send into Hungary for the Ætheling Edward; and in the year 1057 he and his children arrived in England; but he never saw his uncle the king, for soon after landing in England he died.

It was about this time that Harold was engaged in his principal Welsh war. The Welsh had won a victory over the Norman commandant of Hereford, who on the eve of battle altered the tactics of the English infantry, and insisted on their fighting on horseback, instead of on foot as they had always been accustomed to do. Harold came from the south to the aid of the English, and gained great glory by the manner in which he conducted the Welsh campaign. But while Harold was winning renown, his brother Tostig had caused a revolt in the north by the arbitrary levy of taxes and by the execution without trial of those who offended him. The people of Northumberland rose in rebellion, drove away Tostig, and made Morkere, the grandson of Leofric, Earl of Northumberland, who was aided by Edwin his brother, who afterwards succeeded his father Ælfgar as Earl of



Mercia. King Edward was anxious to restore Tostig by force of arms, but Harold would not be a party to such a policy. He endeavoured to gain his brother's return to power by conciliatory measures; but the men of Northumberland would not take back Tostig. So Tostig had to quit England, bitterly angered with his brother Harold, because Harold would not enter into civil strife to replace him by force in the earldom of Northumberland. He went later to the court of Harold Hardrada, king of Norway.

About this time it is said that an event occurred, which is told with such great difference of story that it is almost impossible to discover the exact truth. It seems that Harold was sailing in the Channel, either for pleasure or on a voyage to Normandy, when he was driven by stress of weather upon the coast owned by Guy, Count of Ponthieu. It was the custom of this territory, as of many others in the Middle Ages, that strangers thrown on the coast by tempest, instead of being succoured, should be imprisoned and put to ransom. Harold appealed to the Duke of Normandy, to whom Count Guy was vassal, and William obtained his delivery by the payment of a large sum of money, after he had vainly endeavoured to obtain it without payment. At the Court of Rouen Harold was received with all honour, and was created a Norman knight by William, who acted as his godfather in chivalry, and presented him with horses and weapons.

Harold, it is said, even accompanied William in an expedition against Conan, Count of the Bretons, in which

he greatly distinguished himself, especially by saving many Normans at the passage of the river Coesnon, which separates Normandy from Brittany. It is told that in returning from the campaign William got Harold to promise to aid him to gain the crown of England at the death of Edward, to deliver up to him at due time the fortress of Dover, and to marry his daughter.

On arriving at Bayeux, William called together a great council of the Norman barons. On the eve of the assembly he collected all the relics and the bones of saints from the churches in the neighbourhood, and had them placed in a large trough covered with cloth of gold in the council-hall. A missal was placed upon the cloth. As soon as the Norman barons and the Englishmen were assembled, William called upon Harold to confirm the verbal promises he had made by an oath before the assembly. Harold, taken by surprise, and not venturing to deny his words, laid his hand on the missal and swore to execute his agreement with the duke, provided he lived and God aided him. All the assembly responded, "May God aid him." Then, on a sign from William, the cloth was removed, and the bones and sacred relics on which Harold had sworn without suspecting their presence, displayed. An oath which was sworn on the bones of the saints was at this time held of the utmost sanctity, and it is said that when Harold perceived the terrible nature of the engagement he had undertaken he shuddered and turned pale.

This story is told only by the Norman writers. English writers are wholly silent as to any oath taken by Harold,



and their silence is a strong argument that an oath of some kind was taken by Harold of fealty to William. Whether the oath so taken was one relating to the betrayal of England, or merely an oath of fidelity taken to his superior on being knighted, twisted by Normans into an oath of the surrender of the English crown, it is impossible to decide. Even if the story is literally true, it would seem that Harold, although culpable in taking the oath, was hardly as culpable as William, who kidnapped a man in his power into swearing an oath which was surreptitiously made more sacred than the swearer intended. Had William believed that Harold freely made his promise, the Norman duke would have been satisfied with the promise, and would not have sought to confirm it.

Harold then returned to England. King Edward shortly fell sick: he saw that his death was near. His chief anxiety was to finish his great church at Westminster before he died. He lived to see it completed, but was too sick to be present at the consecration, which took place on the Feast of the Innocents. A few days afterwards, Edward, the son of Æthelred, the last descendant through the male line of Cerdic who reigned over England, died in 1066, and was buried on the following day, the Feast of the Epiphany, in his new church at Westminster. Miracles were soon believed to be wrought at his grave, and a hundred years after his death he was canonized as a saint. While King Edward lay on his death-bed, the fear that there would be war in England for the possession of the crown pressed heavily

on men's minds. Edgar, the son of Edward the Ætheling, known as Edgar Ætheling, was in England ; but he had been born in a foreign land, and had only lately come to England : he was, too, a mere child of small capacity and little promise, and it was not likely that his claim would be considered by the bold spirits who were ready to strike for the prize.

It must have been suspected in England that Duke William had thoughts of claiming the crown ; and it must have been known that Harold Hardrada, whom Tostig had sought as a protector and avenger, would be ready, on the plea of replacing Tostig, to step in to win the kingdom for himself. Of all Englishmen, Harold the son of Godwine was most fitted, by valour, military ability, experience, and talent, to be elected king. But Harold did not inherit in the least degree the royal blood of Cerdic, and, except while the Danish dynasty ruled, the English had never elected any prince who could not trace his descent through Cerdic up to Odin.

Still, King Edward, for the sake of the country, counselled the English to elect Harold as his successor, and commended to Harold's care his sister Edith and the Frenchmen whom he had brought over to England, who, as the amiable king expressed it, had left their country for his sake.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

[AUTHORITIES.—Roman de Rou, Tapestry of Bayeux, Thierry, Palgrave, Freeman, &c.]

WE now approach the time of the greatest event in the history of our country. In the year in which King Edward the Confessor died, the Norman Conquest of England was effected. The introduction of Christianity in the island nearly five hundred years earlier may have had deeper results, but no other event of our history was for the time so striking, or caused such a revolution of English society.

King Edward, to give greater glory to the consecration of his new church at Westminster, had summoned the Witengemote to meet in Westminster at the Christmas of 1065. He died while the Wise men were assembled on the banks of the Thames, and on the day of King Edward's burial they, in accordance with his latest counsel, elected Harold, son of Godwine, king of the English. That day Harold was hallowed at Westminster as king.

Harold was chosen King of England and Lord of the Isles of Britain at Westminster, but a few people in

Northumberland did not at first acknowledge him. He went to York with his friend Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, had a meeting with the men of Northumberland, and won their allegiance without war. King Harold returned to York to keep Easter. The beginning of his reign was marked in the south by a complete return to the national customs abandoned under the former reign. In his charters the ancient signature replaced the seals lately appended in the Norman fashion. He did not, however, expel the Normans, whom, notwithstanding the outlawry decreed against them, a compliance with the wishes of Edward had spared. These foreigners were still permitted to enjoy all civil rights, but, it is said, showed no gratitude, and began to intrigue both at home and abroad for the cause of Duke William.

Soon after Easter a comet appeared, which was seen for seven days from our country, and men believed that the signs of the heavens foretold that some terrible calamity was about to fall upon England. The superstition of the people was probably supported by their reason, for it might at this time have been foreseen that two enemies at one time were arrayed against Harold. He had been chosen king by the English people, but both his brother Tostig and William duke of the Normans opposed his possession of the sceptre. Tostig perhaps had hoped that on the death of Edward the English would elect him king, but his conduct in Northumberland had prevented all chance of the realization of this hope. On the death of Edward, it appears as



if he were demented by jealousy of his brother, and determined to force his way again into England at any cost.

It is said that when he heard the news of the election, Duke William sent an embassy to Harold to remind him of the oath which he swore by mouth and by hand on good and holy things. Harold, we are told, answered that he swore such an oath to William, but that he swore it under compulsion; that he had promised what he could not perform, for his royalty was not his own, and he could not divest himself of it, neither could he marry a foreign wife, without the consent of the country. It is said that the Norman ambassador took back this answer, and that William replied by a second message, entreating Harold, if he would not fulfil all the conditions he had vowed, to take at least as a wife the young girl he had sworn to marry. Harold refused, and married an English wife.

William then broke with Harold, and swore that within the year he would come and claim his whole debt, and pursue the perjurer to the places where he thought he had the surest footing.

It is not probable that William supposed that Harold would yield the crown to his demand, but he could now assert that he had sought by peaceful means to secure what he claimed as his own.

As far as publicity could be obtained in the eleventh century, William published what he called the Englishman's dishonesty. He laid an accusation of sacrilege against Harold before the Pontifical Court, and demanded

that England should be placed under the ban of the Church, and declared the property of the first occupant sanctioned by the Pope. He founded this demand on three grounds: the murder of Alfred, the expulsion of the Norman archbishop, Robert, and the sacrilegious perjury of Harold. Harold was summoned to defend himself before the Court of Rome, but he refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of that court in the matter, and deputed no ambassador to Rome to argue his cause.

At this time Cardinal Hildebrand was the adviser of the Pope Alexander II. After the death of Otho III. in 1002, the Holy Roman Empire had fallen into confusion and feebleness. The superiority of the Emperor over the Pope, of the temporal power over the sacerdotal power, which under Otho the Great and his descendants had been unquestioned, had been weakened, and Hildebrand was engaged in working out the revolution which gave to the Popes supreme temporal power. Hildebrand resolved that the elections to the Papacy should no longer be dependent on the Emperors, but should be conducted by the clergy of Rome alone. He accomplished this great revolution, but it was far from being the limit of his scheme. He determined to make the princes of Europe abandon all interference in the elections of bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. He also formed the daring design of establishing the universal supremacy of the Pope over all temporal authorities, and of making emperors and kings and all subordinate temporal authorities acknowledge the right of the Pope to interfere in political matters when he perceived grievous wrong in the dealings of State



with State, or even in the private conduct of rulers. Had the principles of Hildebrand been crowned with success, the soldier and the diplomatist, the tool and the originator of international quarrels, would alike have been swept off the stage of European history from the eleventh century. The revolution of making the spiritual power of the Pope superior to the temporal or lay authorities had been commenced in Italy in the ninth century, by the reduction of several powers of Central Italy to Papal suzerainty. It was continued during the two following centuries. All the cities of Campania passed under the temporal power of the Pope; and in the beginning of the eleventh century, Norman knights, emigrants from their country, led under the banner of St. Peter Roman troops to this conquest. Other Norman knights established their dominion over Apulia and Calabria, shook off the claims of the Eastern Empire, declared themselves vassals of the Pope, and received a banner of the Roman Church as a feudal confirmation of their claims to the lands they had conquered.

When William made his appeal to Rome, Hildebrand eagerly embraced the opportunity of asserting in England the supremacy which had been gained in Italy. The case of William against Harold was investigated in the assembly of the cardinals. A Papal bull was drawn up and published, by which it was decided that William duke of Normandy was permitted to enter England to bring back that country to obedience to the Holy See, and to re-establish there for ever the tax of Peter's pence. With this bull the Pope sent to William a banner

bearing the figure of St. Peter, blessed by the Pope himself, and a ring containing one of the hairs of the apostle. Thus on William was bestowed the double emblem of military and ecclesiastical investiture. The consecrated banner with which Duke William was to invade and conquer England was the same which a few years before Norman knights in the name of the Church had planted on the castles of Campania. Before the bull, the banner, and the ring arrived from Rome, Duke William had already begun to make his preparations for the invasion. At first the Norman knights were unwilling to undertake an expedition across the sea; they acknowledged that their service was due to the Duke for the defence of their own country, but not for the purpose of conquering foreign lands. William held an assembly at Lillebonne, near the Seine, and tried to convince them of the advantage of the expedition. His proposals were at first received with much tumult and opposition, but he adopted an artifice which has seldom failed when powerful personages have desired to overcome popular resistance. He sent separately for the men who had in a body opposed his views. None had the courage to refuse in the face of the chief of the country, in an interview with him alone. That which each engaged to do was immediately registered, and the example of the first summoned decided those who came afterwards. Some subscribed for ships, others for soldiers; others promised to march in person.

When once the Normans had bound themselves to undertake the expedition, they manfully set to work to



prepare for it. The arrival of the consecrated banner and the bull stimulated their ardour. William published his ban in all lands that he could reach, and invited volunteers to join his ranks. He called on the true sons of the Church to aid in his holy enterprise; and at the same time offered good pay and the plunder of the fertile English soil to every able-bodied man who would serve him with lance, sword, or crossbow.

A multitude of soldiers answered to his invitation. Some bold and enthusiastic soldiers of the Church flocked to the banner consecrated by the Pope, and a large mass of adventurers sought the ranks of Duke William. They came from Maine and Anjou, from Poitiers and Brittany, from France, Flanders, Aquitaine, and Burgundy, from the slopes of the Alps and from the banks of the Rhine. All the professional swash-bucklers, all the military vagabonds of Western Europe, hastened to join the Norman expedition, actuated by the rare opportunity of securing spoil and plunder in a holy and sanctified cause.

During the spring and early summer, William was busy with preparation. Shipwrights were labouring in all the ports of Normandy in building and fitting vessels; armourers and smiths were occupied in forging lances, swords, and coats of mail; and porters were continually employed in carrying the arms from the workshops to the vessels.

William had by the middle of August, 1066, collected from his Norman forces and his various recruits a force of 60,000 men between the mouths of the Seine and the

Orme. The rendezvous of the vessels was at the mouth of the Dive. For a long time the north-eastern winds blew steadily, and kept the Norman fleet in its harbours and the Norman army encamped upon the shore. After a month the wind changed, and a western breeze carried the flotilla to the roadstead of St. Valery, at the mouth of the Somme, where unfavourable western winds recommenced, and it was necessary to wait some days. The fleet anchored. The troops disembarked and encamped upon the shore. Here dysentery seems to have broken out in the army. Some of the vessels, broken by a heavy gale, sunk with their crews, and the spirits of the men fell. William, to increase their moral courage, had the dead secretly buried, and issued increased rations of food and spirits. But the soldiers, inactive and idle, chafed and murmured at their seeming bad fortune and forced delay. In truth, the unfavourable wind which checked their attack was their best ally; for while they halted on the Norman shore, another enemy appeared on a distant coast of England, and drew the defending general from the southern coast to repel an invasion in the north.

Early in the year, Tostig, the brother of Harold, had gone to Normandy with the object of inducing Duke William to at once invade England. He pretended that he was more powerful in England than Harold, and that an immediate invasion would command immediate success. But William was too wise to throw for a stake of such magnitude before his preparations were complete: and he declined at the time to act. It is said that he gave Tostig some ships, and it is certain that shortly after



Easter Tostig had some ships under his command. He then came from Flanders to the Isle of Wight, where he plundered and enforced tribute, and then harried the coast as far as Sandwich. In the meantime Harold was in London collecting and organizing a large army. As soon as his preparations were complete he marched towards Sandwich, and Tostig sailed away. King Harold spent the whole summer in the south, preparing his fleet and army for the defence of the southern coast. He waited long, but the Normans did not come; and it is wonderful how he managed for so long to find food for his force and to hold together the men of the country who were called out for service, especially at harvest-time. By the 8th September, after waiting so long, the provisions of Harold's army were exhausted. He was forced to dismiss the men of the southern shires to their homes, and retained with him only his House-carls and his immediate followers. Had he been able to keep his army together a few weeks longer, and not been called away to the north, the fate of England might have been different.

When Tostig sailed from Sandwich he steered to Lincolnshire, or Lindesey as it was then called, and began to harry the land. But the two earls, Edwin and Morkere, marched against him and drove him away. He then sailed to Scotland, and stayed with Malcolm till the summer. According to the Norwegian account, Tostig went to Denmark, and sought the aid of Swegen, king of Denmark, who refused to assist him; and then he went to Norway, and solicited the aid of King Harold Hadrada. This Harold was the last of the Scandi-

navians who led the roving life which had originally such a charm for the worshippers of Odin. In his southern expeditions he had at times acted as a buccaneer, at times as a soldier of fortune. He had served in the East under the leaders of his nation, who for nearly two centuries had possessed a portion of the Slavonian provinces. Then he had visited Constantinople, where Scandinavian mercenaries did the duties of the Imperial Guard. In this guard Harold enrolled himself, and, axe on shoulder, stood sentry over the gate of the Imperial palace, and served with his corps in Asia and Africa. Afterwards he returned home, and carried on a long war with Swegen, king of Denmark.

Tostig persuaded Harold to undertake an expedition against England, as the Norwegian chronicles tell. English sources of information say nothing of the journeys of Tostig to Denmark or Norway. They mention simply that Tostig found Harold cruising on the coast of Scotland in company with the Earl of Orkney. Anyhow it is sure that Tostig and Harold Hardrada united at the mouth of the Tyne, and that Tostig swore fealty to Harold and became his friend. They then attacked Scarborough and burnt the town, sailed together to the mouth of the Humber, and afterwards to the mouth of the Ouse. They pushed up the Ouse to a place named Riccall, where the ships were left under the charge of Paul, Earl of Orkney,<sup>1</sup> and the land army marched upon York.

<sup>1</sup> The Orkneys and Western Isles of Scotland were now inhabited and held by Northmen.



The Norwegian legend tells many omens of ill-success which greeted the formation and embarkation of the Norwegian force. It says that while the Norwegian army was encamped, before the wind was favourable for the sailing of the fleet, vague causes of depression and undefined presentiments of evil fell upon the soldiery. Several believed that they had prophetic revelations in their sleep. One dreamed that he and his comrades were landed in England, and saw the English army marching against them with banners displayed; that in front of the army came a woman of gigantic stature, riding on a wolf, and as she rode she fed the wolf with the carcasses of men. The vision of another was, that a flock of birds lighted on the spars of the vessels of the fleet, and that a woman on a rock, counting the vessels with a drawn sword in her hand, said to the birds, "Go, go without fear; you shall soon have plenty to eat."

Whether these stories are true or not, the visions of his soldiers did not prevent Harold from undertaking the expedition. When the fleet of Harold and Tostig was left at Riccall, the soldiers marched on to Fulford by the Ouse. Here the Earls Edwin and Morkere met them, to stay their further advance, on the eve of St. Matthew. The troops on both sides fought very bravely, and in one part of the field the English gained a success; but Harold Hardrada then came up with his banner, which he named the "Ravager of the World." His assault turned the fortune of the day, for he pressed mightily upon the English, so that they fled. Their flight must

have been a complete rout, for we are told that more of them were drowned in the river than fell by the sword of the Northmen. The Northmen remained victorious on the place of slaughter. This battle of Fulford was fought on Wednesday, September 20. The defeated army naturally fled to the fortress of York, and the invaders as naturally blockaded the city. The demoralization of the army of Edwin and Morkere seems to have been complete, and it would almost seem as if they expected no aid from Harold, for the city of York made peace with the foreign general on the following Sunday. The people of York gave to the Northmen one hundred and fifty hostages, and the Northmen gave the same number to the men of York. The men of York also received Harold, king of Norway, as king, and promised that more hostages should be given for the whole shire of York. Harold and Tostig did not occupy the city which had capitulated, but retired to Stamford Bridge on the Derwent, and to Aldby, the town of the old kings, to await the hostages.

We have before seen that about the 8th September. Harold allowed the men of the southern shires who were under arms to return to their homes. There is no evidence to prove that this had anything to do with the receipt of the news of the descent of the Northmen in Yorkshire, but it is not unlikely that this was the case. On the news of the presence of the actual invader in the island, he would naturally take his picked troops, his House-carls and his Thanes, who could march rapidly and be easily supplied, and, leaving the local militia in their



own counties, trust to supplement his regulars by the local militia of the north. Even if food had been available, it would not have been advisable to keep together an irregular militia while the regular officers and troops were away. If the invader had landed, he would easily have swept away such a force, have gained easily the moral triumph of a victory, and would have destroyed a body of men who, in company with regular troops, might be highly valuable. Harold no doubt trusted to be able to defeat the Northmen and return to the south coast in time to oppose the landing of William. If he could not do so, it was better even to allow the Normans to land, and to fight with collected forces in the interior of the country, than to allow an invader to gain the importance of the fact of an early success. It almost seems as if Harold's intelligence as to the state of the Norman forces was at this time faulty. His spies, perhaps eager to bring pleasing intelligence, as spies always are, exaggerated the effects of the late heavy weather on the Norman fleet; for it is most extraordinary that at the same time as Harold marched with his army to the north, the English channel fleet went to port in search of provisions,<sup>1</sup> and the English southern coast, in the face of an armament prepared on the opposite shore of the Channel, was left doubly unguarded. Harold's movements were characterized by the utmost rapidity. It cannot be clearly traced where Harold was when he received the intelligence of Tostig's landing; so it is impossible accurately to determine the

<sup>1</sup> Roman de Rou.

time taken by his march from the south to the north ; but we know that he did not leave Stamford Bridge before the 26th September, and that he was ready to fight at Senlac on the 14th October. It is doubtful whether a modern army could, without railways, march from York to London in seventeen days. The rapidity of Harold's movements seems to clearly show that he moved without any infantry, and carried with him only his Thanes and House-carls, who marched on horseback although they fought on foot.

On the evening of Sunday, the 24th September, the evening of the day that York capitulated to Harold of Norway, King Harold of England marched into Tadcaster on the Wharf. This was the last stage on the old Roman road from London to York. Near it, four centuries later, was fought the battle of Towton, the most sanguinary battle of the Wars of the Roses. Here were the English who had been detached to the north-eastern coast, and had sailed up the Wharf to avoid the Norwegian fleet when it sailed up the Ouse.

The appearance of King Harold at Tadcaster changed the whole course of affairs at York : the burghers resumed their arms, and the gates of the city were carefully guarded, so that no one should carry information to the camp of the Northmen.

Harold inspected the fleet, and the following morning pushed on to Stamford Bridge. His march was apparently so directed that he avoided the enemy's outposts and surprised the main body. The day was one of those autumnal days in which the sun has still its full



vigour. The Northmen lying near Stamford Bridge seem to have spread widely on both sides of the Derwent, and, not expecting any contest, to have neglected to put on their coats of mail. While they were thus at ease they suddenly saw a cloud of dust, and through the dust a glittering in the sunshine which looked like burnished steel. At first the Northmen supposed that it could only be some Englishmen who were coming to give submission, but as Harold and his troops pushed on they were found to be the enemy. Horsemen were at once sent to bring up their comrades from the ships, but the men on the York side of the Derwent were completely surprised, and seem to have been immediately overwhelmed with great loss. Then it is said that one brave Northman held the bridge over the Derwent against the whole force of the English, and killed as many as forty enemies with his axe; and stood his ground till his post was turned, and he himself attacked in rear by an Englishman who crossed lower down the stream in a boat.

After this came the most severe part of the fighting, for the Northmen on the further bank of the Derwent had had time to form their order of battle. Harold of Norway planted his banner, which he called the "Land-waster,"<sup>1</sup> and his soldiers fell in around it in a long narrow line, curved at the extremities, so as to refuse the flanks. They formed, with their shields pressed close together, what was then called the "shield-wall," and stood prepared to fight a defensive battle till the arrival of their comrades from the fleet. The English quickly attacked.

<sup>1</sup> Freeman.

Superior in numbers, they hewed down the shield-wall with their axes, and broke the first line of Northern battle before the reinforcements from the fleet arrived. In this encounter Harold of Norway was killed, and Tostig took the command. The Northmen strove to fight on, but the first line of battle had been broken, and the troops who came up from the ships, though fully equipped, were not strong enough to turn the day. Only, however, after a severe contest, in the end the English won the victory, and pursued the Northmen with great slaughter. Tostig was killed as well as Harold, and the royal banner of the Norwegians captured by the victors. Olaf, son of King Harold of Norway, and Paul, Earl of Orkney, seem to have been taken, for they swore oaths to Harold and gave him hostages.

By the victory of Stamford Bridge Harold saved England from the invasion of the Northmen, but a more dangerous enemy was in a few days on the southern coast.

The army of Duke William was detained at Saint Valery by stress of weather till the 27th of September. At daybreak of that day the sun rose bright, and the breeze blew from the south. The camp was immediately raised, and the army commenced its embarkation. A few hours before sunset all preparations were complete, and 400 ships with large sails, and more than a thousand transport vessels, weighed anchor and stood out to sea, amidst the clang of trumpets and the joyous cheers of 60,000 men. The vessel of Duke William led, with the banner blessed by the Pope at its masthead, and a cross on its own flag. Its sails were of different



colours : on them were painted the three lions, the arms of Normandy, and its figure-head was the image of a boy carrying a bended bow with the arrow ready to quit the string. Lanterns were hung from the spars of this vessel, to serve as beacons and guides in the night passage. At daybreak, the vessel of Duke William had sailed so much faster than the transports, that it was out of sight of the rest of the fleet, but all came up during the morning of the 28th; and that day, as Harold was in the north and his fleet had gone to seek for food, the French landed at Pevensey without opposition. The archers, or light troopers, dressed in short coats, and with their beards shaved, landed first, and probably occupied an intrenchment which was made in apparently an angle of the old Roman walls of Anderida. The landing thus covered, the horsemen were sent ashore, wearing coats of mail and helmets of burnished steel, and armed with long lances and straight double-edged swords. These were followed by the artificers of the army, who brought on shore the siege train and the pieces with which to construct three wooden castles that had been prepared beforehand. The Duke himself was the last to land. The same story is told of his landing as of that of Cæsar in Africa. It is said that as he touched the shore he fell, and that as he got up with his hands begrimed with mud, one of his attendants said to him, "This is a good omen, Lord Duke ; thou hast already taken seizin of the land of England."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When a lord gave lands to a vassal, he often gave him seizin by handing him a piece of earth. The custom still prevails in the sale of landed property in some parts of the island.

After occupying the town of Pevensey, the Norman army took the road to Hastings. There Duke William erected one of his wooden castles, on the hill where the ruined castle now stands. His troops overran the neighbouring country, ravaging and pillaging houses and lands.<sup>1</sup> At Hastings they remained for fifteen days. It is difficult to account for this delay, unless William was ignorant of the situation of the English army. The fertile lands of southern England were before him, where he could have fed both his troops and his horses, and it would have appeared peculiarly advantageous to him to have marched rapidly on London during Harold's absence, and seized the city, which was always the hot-bed of opposition to foreign invasion.

There seems no satisfactory reason to account for this delay. It may perhaps be supposed that William expected a rising of the Frenchmen in England. It is known he brought many arms in his fleet, which might have been intended for partisans; and the erection of a castle at Hastings seems to show that, so far from burning his vessels according to the vulgar story, he was peculiarly solicitous of the secure communication with his fleet.

Harold, in person, was at York after the battle of Stamford Bridge, although he must have already begun the movement of his troops towards the south, when a Thane, who had seen the Normans land at Pevensey, came with the intelligence of their debarkation, having

<sup>1</sup> These accounts are very likely exaggerated: probably the troops were ordered only to take the food which they required. But in foraging some plundering always takes place.



ridden day and night with the news. At the same time a yeoman arrived who had come from Hastings, and he told King Harold how the army of Duke William had marched from Pevensey to Hastings, how they had made a castle at the latter place, and how they were wasting the land far and near.

King Harold at once mustered his House-carls and Thanes, and those of his following who had fought at Stamford Bridge, and started with all haste for London. He at once sent out orders to all the land, bidding all men fit to carry arms to concentrate at London, to fight against Duke William and his Normans. The men of Wessex and East Anglia hastened to join his standard, and as the King went to London he picked up the men of all the shires of Mercia through which he passed. The men from those shires of Mercia under the King's brother, and under Waltheof the son of Siward, obeyed the call; but the men from the other shires of Mercia did not come, nor did those from Northumberland, except such as followed the King from York; for Edwin and Morkere considered that the descent of Duke William only threatened Wessex, and thought that even if Harold fell they might become kings instead of earls. It was of course impossible that the infantry of the shires could march at the same rapid rate as the King himself and his mounted House-carls, and time was required to concentrate his forces. A short time Harold waited in London, and at his own house at Waltham; but he did not give his whole force time to collect, and he advanced from the Thames towards the southern coast with an army four times less numerous

than that of Duke William. The success of his rapid movements from the south to Yorkshire perhaps inspired him to seek to overthrow Duke William by an attack as sudden and unexpected as had ruined Harold Hardrada, and he may have hoped to find William's troops as much divided as those of the Norwegian. But when they neared the coast of Sussex, he found that his opponent was as vigilant and skilful as himself. The Norman outposts were thrown out a long distance, and the cavalry piquets, falling back, told that the English were coming on furiously. To attempt an attack on the fortified camp at Hastings with an inferior force would have been utter madness, so Harold took up a position, probably to await reinforcements, on a hill called Senlac, about seven miles from Hastings, which, in memory of the great contest that occurred there, is now known as Battle.<sup>1</sup>

While Harold was collecting his army in London, messengers seem to have passed between his head-quarters and those of William. It is said that in these *pour-parlers* Harold offered William money to go away, and that William offered to Harold the land beyond the

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that scarcely any details of the battle of Hastings can be gained from English sources. Neither the Chronicles nor Florence give anything but the most meagre account. It is from Norman writers that we have to extract the story, and Norman writers not unnaturally were biassed. The best account of all is that shown, not written, in the Bayeux tapestry, which every Englishman ought to see. Those who cannot do so may read with advantage Sharon Turner's account, vol. ii. p. 324. The Bayeux tapestry, the Roman de Rou, "Carmen de bello Hastingsensi," "Life of William," by William of Poitiers, and the "Brevis Relatio," seem to be all the authorities for the history of the fight.



Humber, and to Gurth the land which Godwine held; that William offered also to submit the decision of the quarrel to the arbitration of the Holy See, or to the ordeal of single combat. It is impossible to say if these tales are true; but if they are, Harold declined all William's propositions, declaring that the quarrel was not his quarrel, but that of the people of England, of whom he was the chosen chief. When Harold arrived at Senlac and found that it was impossible to surprise the Norman camp, it is said that some of his officers counselled him to retreat and lay waste the country before him. If it is true that Harold's fleet of 700 sail, as some accounts assert, had now again taken the sea, and was capable of blockading the Norman fleet, this would have been his best policy. His army was much inferior to that of his enemy, and the Normans would have soon been compelled by want of provisions either to have lain down their arms, or to have hazarded a flank march in the presence of the enemy, to gain a country not yet devastated. Harold, however, neglected this counsel on the score that it would be treason to lay waste his own land, and took up a position to bar the progress of the invaders inland.

If the English leader made a strategical error in determining to accept battle with inferior forces while reinforcements were hurrying up to his aid, his tactical dispositions were certainly excellent for sustaining a defensive contest.

The position he took up was the southernmost spur of the hill country of North Sussex, called Mount Senlac. He occupied a ridge across this spur. In rear of the position

the country was much broken and wooded ; in front lies a small detached hill, used probably by the English army as an outpost, and further south is the hill of Telham, a spur of the heights which run from Hastings inland. This position was well suited to be held by an inferior against a superior force coming from the south, as the assailants could not attack in front without encountering much disadvantage of ground, and could hardly attempt to turn it without exposing themselves to be attacked in flank on the march. On the main hill Harold formed his front of battle. The English at Hastings, fighting a defensive battle, formed a line much similar to that adopted by the Northmen at Stamford Bridge. They formed a deep line with the flanks refused and the standard in the centre, with their shields pressed close together. Harold, acquainted with Norman customs, gave his men every vantage at Senlac, for the English all fought on foot, while the Norman gentry fought mounted. He also intrenched his position and covered its front with stakes and willow hurdles. It must have been thus very difficult for the Norman cavalry to approach ; and even if they breasted the intrenchment, they found an unbending line of shields, topped with helmets and guarded with the terrible English axe and bill.

The English arrived at their camp on Senlac on Friday, the 13th October, 1066. His cavalry had informed Duke William of their advance. The horsemen, able to approach much nearer to a hostile army than at the present day, could probably tell him accurately the English strength ; and spies, it is believed, let



him know that large forces of English were rapidly collecting near London, and that in four days Harold would be at the head of an army of 100,000 men. Of course William was eager to fight while his forces were superior, and before his enemy received reinforcements; and it was now known in the Norman camp that the morrow would be the day of battle.

Harold had declined the prudent advice of the counsellors who urged him to retreat and await his supports: his position was prepared; and the English also, if their intelligence was at all good, should have known that the morrow would be a day of battle.

There seems, however, no evidence to show that they did. Norman writers tell that while during the night the Norman camp was hushed and silent, except where priests chanted litanies or soldiers murmured confessions, in the English camp the sounds of laughter and of wassail were heard from the sides of the watch-fires, where the English House-carls drank deep horns of beer and shouted the songs of Brunanburh or Maldon.

Early on the following Saturday morning, the Feast of Pope Calixtus, Duke William arose, heard mass, received the Holy Communion, and marshalled his army. The whole force then marched to the hill of Telham, whence they could see the English camp on Senlac. There the Norman knights put on their armour, and exchanged the cobs which they had ridden from Hastings for their heavy war-horses. William, when putting on his coat of mail, turned the fore-part backwards. This was considered an unhappy omen; but the Duke asserted that it was a good

sign, as that day the duke would be converted into a king. He then<sup>1</sup> saw King Harold's standard on the Senlac hill, and he vowed that he would build where that standard stood a great cathedral in honour of Saint Martin, the Apostle of the Gauls. As the army of Duke William approached Telham hill, the dust raised by its march would be seen from the English camp; and when the troops crowned Telham, whence during the pause which occurred there William no doubt reconnoitred his enemy's position, they could of course be seen from the English position.

King Harold ranged his troops in order of battle. On the slope of the hill towards the centre of the position he planted the two banners which were always borne with an English royal army, and marked the post of the king. One was the golden dragon, the ancient ensign of Wessex; the second was Harold's own standard, richly bejewelled with precious stones, and with the effigy of a fighting man brodered in gold upon it. In front of the standard Harold formed his House-carls, his own Thanes and followers, and the troops of Kent and London. These were armed with coats of mail, had javelins to hurl at the commencement of a fight, and axes and knives for closer combat. But besides these well-equipped troops there were the ceorls who had come from all the rural districts of the south, and who were armed as they could best arm themselves. Few had armour, and many neither swords nor axes. Some had

<sup>1</sup> After he had donned his harness. This seems as if the standard had not been flying when he first reached Telham.



pikes, some forks or scythes, and a few bows and arrows. On open ground these irregular levies could not have withstood for a moment a charge of Norman chivalry. They were therefore placed in reserve, where the crest of the hill trending inwards leaves a narrow summit. Here they could guard the flanks against such desultory attacks as might be made against them. Harold, after ranging his army, rode along the position and inspected the troops. He told them that the Normans had come to conquer England, that the Norman horsemen were most formidable, but that if the English stood firm no cavalry could break their shield-wall, and if they maintained the intrenchments shoulder to shoulder they must gain the victory. After having visited the different points of the position, Harold returned to his post by the standard, dismounted from his horse, prayed God for aid, and then took his place beneath the royal standard. By his side stood his brothers Gurth and Leofwine, and his kinsfolk.

Duke William formed his army in three columns of attack. On the left were the men of Ponthieu, of Maine, and of Brittany, led by Alan; in the centre the Normans marched, led by William; and on the right flank were all the mercenaries and adventurers from France and Picardy, led by Roger de Montgomery. The head of each column was formed of archers, who were followed in support by the heavy-armed infantry, and the horsemen closed the march of the columns, to rush into any gap made by the footmen, to ensure victory, and to conduct pursuit. In the centre Duke

William himself rode on a Spanish charger brought from Galicia: he wore around his neck the most important of the relics on which Harold had sworn, and he carried in his hand a mace of iron. By his side rode Odo bishop of Bayeux, and his other half-brother, Robert count of Mortain; and the banner, blessed by the Pope and borne by Toustain le Blanc, floated above his head.

The moment before ordering the advance, the Duke raised his voice and spoke to his officers. "Fight your best," said he, "and give no quarter; for if we conquer we shall be rich: if I take the land, you shall share it. Know, however, that I am not come here merely to take what is my due, but to revenge our whole nation for the felonious perjuries and treason of these English. They put to death the Danes, men and women, on the night of St. Brice: they decimated the companions of my kinsman Alfred, and put him himself to death. On, then, in God's name, and chastise them for their misdeeds."<sup>1</sup>

The Norman troops were so eager for the combat, that they barely tarried for the end of their leader's speech. The army was quickly in motion, and pricking across the ground that lies between Telham and Senlac. In front of all rode a minstrel, nicknamed Taille-fer. He had sought Duke William's leave to strike the first blow; and now he rode before the Norman columns singing the song of Roland and of Roncesvalles, and throwing up his sword and catching it again as he

<sup>1</sup> Thierry's "Norman Conquest."



went. As Taille-fer closed on the English line he killed one man with his lance and another with his sword, but was then himself cut down.

The Norman army, about nine o'clock on Saturday morning, came in contact with the English. The Norman archers first poured upon the defenders of Senlac a shower of arrows, and, covered by this fire, the infantry rushed to the attack, shouting the Norman war-cry, "Dieu aide," which the men of England answered as loudly with "God Almighty" and "The Holy Cross." But the arrows fell harmless on the linked shields of the English, and the French infantry, shaken by the javelins hurled from behind the intrenchments, went down under the ponderous axes of the Housecarls and the men of Kent, without being able to effect a gap in the Englishmen's iron wall. To cover the retreat of their infantry, or to avenge their repulse, the chivalry of France, with lance in rest, charged up the slope and bore against the position of the English; but the intrenchments stopped the career of the horses. The sudden shock brought many riders and steeds together to the ground. On these the English soldiers plied their heavy axes and ghastly bills so sternly that they never rose again.

Again and again did the French renew the assault on the hill; again and again the heads of their columns melted away under the heavy strokes of the English, who preserved their unbending line in front of the spot where the standard of Wessex floated.

Dismayed by such a stern resistance, the Bretons,

who fought on the Norman left, began to waver, and, as is nearly always the case in battle, the wavering line soon melted into flight. The infection of fear quickly spread, and soon afterwards the Normans turned. The English were then strongly tempted to break their ranks to pursue, but the discipline and example of the King held those near Harold firm to their post. But some of the irregular troops, who had perhaps been drawn in to aid in resisting the Breton attack, carried away by excitement, quitted their lines and followed the flying enemy into the open.

In the Norman ranks a cry was raised that Duke William was slain; and at first, being carried away by the throng of fugitives, his horse fell with him; but he quickly mounted another, and, riding among his men without his helmet, cried, "I live, and by God's help I mean to conquer." With the assistance of his brother Odo he managed to rally and to restore order among the flying troops, and he cut off with heavy slaughter the rash English who had quitted their position in pursuit.

Having re-formed his men, Duke William again advanced to attack. This time his men seem to have fought steadily up the hill, and William himself got so near the English standard that Gurth could single him out and hurl a spear at him. The spear missed its aim, but the Duke's horse was killed: but Duke William pressed forwards on foot and met Gurth face to face, and slew him with his own hand. Earl Leofwine was killed about the same time.



Somewhere about this period of the battle it seems as if Roger de Montgomery and the French adventurers on the Norman right<sup>1</sup> had succeeded in breaking through the intrenchments on the English left. The second attack was more successful than the first, but Duke William saw that on the hill-side, even if gaps were forced in the intrenchments, there was no room for the action of his best arm—his cavalry. It is said that to induce the English to break their unyielding shield-wall he adopted the hazardous expedient of a pretended flight. The whole French army seemed to be again in flight, and many of the light-armed English rushed down the hill to pursue; but the French, as soon as they reached open ground, turned on their pursuers and cut many off with slaughter from their lines. Some of the English seized the small detached hill, and hurled down javelins and stones on those who attacked them. Others, retreating, led their pursuers over a gully, overgrown with brushwood and long grass, into which the horses and riders fell, and thus caused the death of many Norman knights.

Still it does not appear as if much impression had been made on the centre of the English position. So William formed his men for another attack, and this time placed the archers in rear of the assailing columns. He ordered the bowmen to fire not directly on the shields of the English, but up in the air over the heads

<sup>1</sup> Those who have been in battles, and know the difficulty of remembering exactly the various incidents, will understand the impossibility of describing accurately a fight of eight hundred years ago.

of the assailants. In this way the archers had not to cease firing when the lines closed, and their arrows, falling at a high angle, could strike behind the shields of the English. The battle had been going on since nine in the morning, and it seems to have been about twilight when this last attack was ordered. The arrows of the archers, falling like bolts on the defenders, pierced the helmets of the English, and, causing men to raise their shields to guard their heads, opened gaps in the English line for the assault of the Norman infantry. One shaft in falling pierced King Harold in the eye, and he fell, disabled by pain, below the royal standard. From this time the line of English battle seems to have been broken; and though the fight continued, it seems to have been more in desultory combats than in organized array. Twenty Norman knights swore to take the English standard, and strove to force their way through the surging mass which was still engaged in fierce conflict in front of the spot where the wounded Harold lay. Many of them were slain by the English, but the survivors succeeded in tearing down the standard of Harold and carrying off the ensign of Wessex. Four knights, one of whom was Count Eustace, rushed upon Harold where he lay, killed him with many wounds, and mutilated his body.

Still the death of Harold did not end the contest. No quarter was given, and none of the House-carls on the occasion seem to have fled. Those who escaped were probably wounded men who were carried away on the following day. The irregular forces naturally fled, but



the nature of the ground hindered the Norman pursuit, and some of the Norman cavalry were lost in a morass on the north side of the hill. At dusk the battle seems to have ended; the standard blessed by the Pope was raised on the spot where that of Harold had waved in the morning, and, the dead bodies being cleared away, William pitched his tent beside it.

It is told that the body of Harold was recognized by a lady he had loved, named Edith, and was taken and buried under a cairn near Hastings, as William would not allow it to be placed in consecrated ground, since he considered Harold a perjurer and excommunicated.

After the coronation of William, the body of Harold was removed, and was buried in the church which he had himself built at Waltham.

Such is the story of the Battle of Hastings.



## CHAPTER VII.

### INVASIONS TO REASSERT THE INDEPENDENCE OF ENGLAND.

[AUTHORITIES.—Roman de Rou, Tapestry of Bayeux, Thierry, Palgrave, Freeman, &c.]

BUT the victory of Hastings did not give King William the possession of England. In London there were many Englishmen of rank and power who had not stood with Harold on the fatal hill of Senlac: the reinforcements which had been hurrying up to support their king in Sussex were rapidly mustering, and there was no room to despair of the English cause when the tidings of Harold's death and defeat reached London. The English in London chose Edgar the Ætheling as their king, and a show was still made of resistance to the invader. A favourable opportunity was given to the defenders of the land to re-organize their forces and prepare for the defence of the line of the Thames, or that of the chalk hills which bounded the valley of that river on the south, for the Norman army halted long in its advance on London. In those days the fall of London did not mean the submission of the kingdom, but still it was a most important point. But the English nobles were



too much occupied with jealousies among each other to turn all their energies to the protection of the commonweal, and Edgar was too young and too weak to grasp the situation.

While the army of William was still opposed by that of Harold, some Norman vessels crossed the Channel, and the troops they contained landed at Romney. The English inhabitants received the invaders as enemies, and drove them off with loss. William, after his victory at Senlac, heard of the disaster of his comrades at Romney. To secure the entire coast and ensure the safe landing of reinforcements from Normandy, he determined to establish himself principally on the coast of Sussex. Instead of advancing to the Thames after the battle at Senlac, he fell back to Hastings, and waited there a while for proposals of peace and for reinforcements to his army, which had lost one-fourth of its number by the battle-axes of the English.

No man came to sue for peace, so the Norman leader marched eastwards along the coast, ravaging and destroying as he went. At Romney he avenged the defeat of his soldiers by massacring the inhabitants and burning the houses. Then he marched to Dover, of which he had desired to make himself master in virtue of the oath sworn by Harold. The Castle of Dover, the key of England, had lately been completed by the son of Godwine. It stood on a naturally steep cliff washed by the sea, which with great labour had been scarped on every side. The details of the siege of Dover are lost. All that is known is that the town was fired, and that the place surrendered :

either because the garrison had gone to the battle and the place was not manned, or through the terror or treason of the commandant. William spent a week at Dover strengthening the works, and then moved by the Roman road towards Canterbury. On the way, it is reported that the men of Kent met him in arms and forced him to guarantee the continuance of their old laws, but this is not confirmed. Near Canterbury, however, Duke William fell ill, and was for a month detained from pushing forward the war. Still the English were worse than inactive, for Edwin and Morkere, angered at the election of Edgar as king, withdrew to their own dominions, and took away with them the forces furnished by their provinces. During the illness of William, it seems that a Norman detachment occupied Winchester, where was living Edith the widow of King Edward, and took from the town tribute, but did little damage, for William either was or wished to appear to be friendly with the widow of the sovereign by whose bequest he claimed the crown of England.

As soon as its leader was recovered, the Norman army renewed its march, preceded by bodies of cavalry, which foraged over the country and did much injury to the land. One party of horsemen, sent forward to clear the road and to reconnoitre, came upon the citizens of London on the outposts of Edgar's forces south of the Thames. These they quickly drove in, and then burnt the suburb of Southwark.

After this skirmish the citizens doubtless guarded sternly all passages over the river, and withdrew all boats



from the Surrey side. William had left his vessels behind him, and we do not know whether they were not unable to sail for the Thames on account of the presence of the English fleet. So William moved up the right bank of the river, till he found a bridge and ford at Wallingford, in Berkshire. The Berkshire men had fought well at Senlac, but now their leader yielded without a blow, and the Norman army crossed the stream without resistance, partly by a ford and partly by an unguarded bridge. Various accounts are given of the conduct of the Norman troops during the march to Wallingford. Writers favourable to the English say that they plundered in all directions; those who favour the Normans tell that no man suffered. Neither account can be accepted as accurately true. Of course William was forced to feed his army: on the one hand the hardships always caused by requisitions would be greatly exaggerated; on the other, foraging can rarely be conducted in the best disciplined armies without plunder and violence, and the composition of William's army does not argue that high discipline would prevail among his soldiers, especially in their dealings with the people of the country.

At Wallingford William formed an intrenched camp, to secure his communications and to cut off English reinforcements which might attempt to move from the west towards London. He then moved north-east, to Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, to cut off London from aid from the north, and to prevent Edwin and Morkere, even if they desired, from coming to the help of the city. Thus London was isolated from the country. The Nor-

man cavalry ravaged the country which supplied the town with provisions ; and though the citizens came to blows sometimes with the Normans, they were forced to succumb by fear of famine and the faint-heartedness of the garrison.

Eldgar, the Archbishop Eldred, some other bishops, and the best men of London, came to Berkhamstead and swore oaths of fealty to William, and gave him hostages, and in return William swore to be clement and merciful to them ; but it seems as if his troops ravaged the country all the same.

William himself marched to London, and on Christmas Day, 1066, was crowned King of England in the new church of King Edward at Westminster, with the consent of the Normans and the few timid English who were present at the ceremony. But the streets of the then suburban village of Westminster had to be crowded with Norman cavalry to protect their countrymen who took part in the ceremony, and so apprehensive were the guards of surprise, that on the sound of the acclamations which greeted the election of the king, they fired the houses which doubtless would have hindered their free action and given cover to enemies.

The coronation of William did not complete the conquest of England. For five years the strife between the English and the Normans overtly endured, and for centuries was furtively continued. During the whole period of the conquest the state of England was wretched. On the very day of his coronation William imposed an enormous war contribution on the citizens of London. He



immediately began to construct a castle in the city, the foundation of the Tower of London, and himself retired to Barking till its fortifications were completed. While their leader remained at Barking, the Norman army rested concentrated round London and on the southern coast, but the partition of the occupied districts at once commenced. The whole property of those who had been supporters of Harold, whether they were present at the great battle, or hindered from taking part in it by involuntary delay, was confiscated. The product of this wholesale spoliation was the pay of the adventurers who had followed William from Normandy. Some obtained this pay in money, some in land, some by compulsory marriage with English heiresses, some by the possession of English matrons or English maidens as mistresses. In the winter of 1066 the Norman army seems not to have occupied the country north of the Wash, nor south of the highlands of Dorsetshire, but these boundaries did not long limit the exactions and spoliations of the invaders. Soon the state in which these southern districts now remained was extended over all England. English men had to undergo servitude and penury; English women insult and outrage more terrible than death. Those whose fortunes did not tempt their conquerors to take them *par mariage* were taken *par amour*, and English ladies of noblest rank became the toys of the lowest privates and camp-followers of the army. The towns, although fired and partly destroyed, were portioned out to Norman possessors, who exacted from the diminished and impoverished householders the full taxes which had

been paid by a flourishing community in the days of Edward.

For the lands thus wrung from the English and bestowed on the chiefs of the expedition, these swore fealty to their leader. They again meted out their spoil among men of lower rank, who in return for their tenures vowed military service. All were rewarded at English expense, and drovers of Normandy and weavers of Flanders became rich knights at the expense of the former proprietors of the country.

Such misery bore its fruit, and when William returned to Normandy, in the year after Hastings, the exactions and outrages of the Normans, under the rule of his brother Bishop Otho and his friend Fitz-Osborn, drove the people of the eastern coast to seek independence for themselves and their country by the aid of a foreign power.

Eustace, Count of Boulogne, who had caused confusion in England during the reign of Edward, was now at enmity with William, who held his son a prisoner. The former connection with Edward—the good King Edward to whose days Englishmen now looked back with regret—made him regarded as a national ally to England.

The men of Kent sent a message to Eustace, and promised to aid him to take Dover, if he would make a descent and help them against the Normans. The Count of Boulogne assented, and landed near Dover under the cover of a dark night. All the English near took up arms. Simon de Montfort and the Bishop of Bayeux,



the governors of the fortress, had gone beyond the Thames with their troops. Had the siege lasted two days, the whole population of the country would have joined the invading force. But Eustace made a rash attempt to seize Dover by surprise. He was repulsed by the Norman garrison, and his troops lost heart on the first failure. A report of the approach of a Norman army struck terror into his soldiers: a panic broke out in the ranks. Eustace ordered a retreat, which quickly degenerated into a flight. His men hurried in disorder to their ships, and the Norman garrison, seeing them dispersed, left their works and pursued. Eustace himself owed his life to the speed of his horse; many of his men were killed by falling in their haste down the steep steps which scaled the cliff on which Dover Castle stands; and the English insurgents dispersed by byroads to their homes. Such was the result of the first invasion which had as its object the re-establishment of English power in England. Eustace soon after made his peace with William, and forgot the allies whom for the moment he desired to succour. During the absence of King William in Normandy, revolts in England against his power were frequent. On the borders of Hereford the English and Welsh united under the command of Edrik, and drove some partisans of the Normans from the valley of the Lugg. As yet the Norman posts had not been established in this district, and a Norman king was not acknowledged there any more than between the Humber and the Tweed.

In the midland districts the Norman cavalry freely

roamed over the open country, but many fortified towns still remained untaken. Each of these was the centre of opposition to Norman aggression, and communications were established between them to rally the friends of English independence, and to organize a general rising. The tidings of this agitation and threatened danger to his power reached William in Normandy, and urged his return to the island. He embarked at Dieppe on a cold December night, and reached London in time to celebrate there the festival of Christmas with great solemnity. The feast which marked the anniversary of the day when the Prince of Peace was born, seemed likely to bring peace to England. William assembled round him many English chiefs and bishops. He gave to them the kiss of welcome, hearkened to all their counsel, and listened to all their complaints. The men of London believed that the bitterness of the death of national independence was past; freed for a time from outrage and spoliation, they abandoned resistance to the Norman power, returned to their desks and their workshops, and William was able without concern to march his troops from the neighbourhood of the capital to complete the subjugation of the provinces which were still unsubdued. The campaign of 1067 was opened in the south-west. Crossing the hilly land which separates Dorsetshire from Devonshire, the Norman army bore down upon Exeter. In this city, after the battle of Hastings, the mother of Harold had taken refuge, and here she had collected her treasure. The burghers of Exeter strengthened their walls, called in the men capable of bearing arms from



the neighbouring county, and enlisted foreign mercenaries for the defence of the city. The Normans halted at a place four miles distant, and William summoned the city. The townsmen offered tribute, but refused to pay fealty to the Conqueror as king. Some of the leading men, apparently bribed by Norman largess, gave hostages, but the burghers would not yield, and shut them out of the town. So the siege began.

The assault was led by a battalion of English who had enlisted in Norman pay either by compulsion or from the force of hunger. The Normans invested the city. The siege continued eighteen days: many of the Normans died, but their places were supplied by fresh men, and at last the town surrendered, apparently by treachery. Forty-eight houses were destroyed in the siege, and the Normans applied their materials to the construction of a fortress which was called Rougemont. After the capture of Exeter the Norman troops pushed forward into Cornwall. The English settlers and the Celtic inhabitants were involved in a common ruin. Their country was wrested from them and partitioned out among the invaders. The war was then carried into Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, which were also overrun and reappropriated. In the south the theatre of independence was thus gradually curtailed, but the north was still subdued, and English patriots still freely roamed the country from Oxford to the Tweed. By these the alliance of the Welsh chieftains was sought, and a great plan was at this time formed to free the island from the Normans by a general rising. The project was, however, dis-

covered before it could be executed, and in consequence of its discovery many noble Englishmen fled to the north from Norman vengeance, and crossed the border to seek the friendly refuge offered to them by Malcolm, king of Scots.

The descents of the Northmen, which had caused so much trouble in England, occasioned a great revolution in Scotland. South of the Forth the invasions of the Danes had strengthened the Teutonic race already established there, but north of that river the Northern raids had gradually weakened the power of the Picts. The Scots, men of Irish extraction, the inhabitants of the Western Highlands, had taken advantage of this weakness; and at last, Kenneth MacAlpine, king of the Scots, descended into the more fertile country of the Picts, welded the two tribes into one, and became the sole ruler of Scotland. The fusion of Picts and Scots, though not effected without violence, was not of the nature of a conquest of one race by a race totally different. The blood of the two tribes was the same, and their languages were not so dissimilar but that at the time of the Norman invasion no trace remained of any difference between the idioms of the Picts and the Scots.

The only difference of languages or of race was that between the Northerners of Gaelic blood, who spoke the Gaelic tongue and lived beyond the Clyde, and the Teutonic colonists of the lowlands between the Forth and the Tweed. Even in those days this difference was being gradually diminished. The superior intelligence



and the grander mind of the men of Germanic blood were gradually, peaceably, and silently, but certainly and surely, replacing the wild and lawless character of the Gael. Even at this time the kings of Scotland preferred the men of Germanic blood to the Celts descended from the same ancestry as themselves, and welcomed with cordiality every immigrant from England. Malcolm, then king of Scotland, seems to have been the last sovereign crowned at Scone who could speak the vernacular of the Highlands, and from his time the Celts of the North sank into opprobrium and contempt, until resuscitated to a romantic interest by the dexterous pen of Sir Walter Scott. It was this desire to encourage the settlement of men of Teutonic race within his realm which led Malcolm to extend so eagerly the hand of friendship to Edgar. He gave to all the followers of the English Ætheling lands and possessions, probably taken from his Gaelic subjects, and himself espoused Margaret, Edgar's youngest sister.

The news of this alliance, and the hostile attitude of the north of England, determined William to push his operations rapidly. He marched upon Oxford. The burghers resisted, and insulted the invader from the walls; but the miners made a breach practicable, and the assailants pushing into the town, avenged the insult with fire and sword, and more than half the houses in the town were destroyed. Warwick, Derby, and Leicester were captured in quick succession, and all felt the withering hand of the victor in all its rigour. Nottingham and Lincoln soon fell into Norman hands.

In all the cities thus taken, Norman castles were raised and Norman garrisons posted, so that fortified positions were gradually established through the country to secure its possession and to prevent its revolt.

It was especially necessary for the Normans to guard effectually the eastern coast, for it was feared, not without cause, that the Danes, excited by the woes of their kinsmen of Teutonic race, might make a descent upon the island to aid the English.

Having occupied Lincoln, the invaders marched upon York. On their way at the fork of the rivers which united form the Humber, they were met by the allied armies of the Northern English and the Welsh. As is always the case, the seasoned and well-disciplined troops of the invader defeated the irregular and hasty levies of the defender, though animated by the most lofty patriotism and inspired with the greatest courage. When the regular defences of a country have once been broken down, it is too late to endeavour to replace them by the ephemeral creation of hasty levies. Many of the English were slain; those who escaped sought safety within the fortress at York, but the victorious Normans followed them closely, made a breach in the ramparts, rushed into the city, and put the whole of the inhabitants to the sword. A few remnants of the English army escaped in boats down the Humber, and gained safety in Scotland.

York was now established as the main Norman fortified post of the north. In the centre of the town a citadel was built, and this fort was garrisoned by five hundred men-at-arms, with several thousand squires and



followers. But the country in the neighbourhood was not occupied, and the Norman garrison, fearful of attack, hastened to complete their works and to collect stores of provisions.

While war was still threatening the Norman power, and agitation was everywhere cropping up within the sphere of Norman dominion, an invasion to restore English independence was attempted on the south-west coast. In 1069, Edmund, one of Harold's two sons, who with his brother had sought refuge in Ireland, either after the battle of Hastings or after the taking of Exeter, came to England with sixty vessels and a small army, provided by Dermot. Landing near the Avon, he made an assault on Bristol, but failed to capture the town; so, returning to his fleet, he sailed along the coast, and again landed in Somersetshire. On his descent the whole neighbourhood rose against the Normans, and the insurrection spread into Devonshire and Dorsetshire. The Cornish men threw in with the English, and the Norman garrisons of the south-west were attacked. These were supported by the English soldiers whom William had ranged under his banner, and whom he sent against the invaders, careless of the loss on either side, provided only that Englishmen perished. Many of the English auxiliaries were slain; but the men of Edmund do not seem to have gained a decided success, and although the insurrection was not quelled, Edmund returned to Ireland to bring across fresh troops.

He was not absent long. Then, returning with his brother Godwine, he entered the mouth of the Tamar, in

Devonshire. The point was unhappily selected, for in that direction were concentrated the Norman garrisons of the southern counties. The Norman leader surprised the English, and defeated them with the loss of two thousand men. The surviving invaders sought safety on board their vessels, and sailed away, abandoning all hope of the rescue of their country. To stamp out the insurrection, the Norman garrisons of London, Winchester, and Salisbury were marched into Dorsetshire and Somersetshire, and martial law was executed on those who had taken up arms or were suspected of being implicated in the revolt.

But the Western population, once aroused, was not deterred from further action either by the executions in the south or the retreat of the auxiliary fleet. The inhabitants of the Welsh border, and of the district round Chester which had not yet been taken, formed an army, and, moving on Shrewsbury, drove back the Frenchmen towards the east. The Norman leaders who had defeated the sons of Harold moved against them, and, William in person hastened from Lincoln to join them with his picked troops. Near Stafford he fell in with the main body of the English forces, and overthrew it in one battle. The Norman leaders from the south marched on Shrewsbury, and this town, with the surrounding country, again fell into the hands of the foreigner. The inhabitants threw down their arms; a few men only sought the hills and the forests, whence they made raids on the French lines of communication, cut off stragglers and orderlies, and annoyed their enemies by a guerilla



warfare ; but the cities, the main roads, and the open country were thoroughly held by the French troops.

In the north, insurrection was still rife. The king was forced to hurry to York to relieve the French garrison there, which had been besieged by the people of Northumberland. He raised the siege, with great slaughter of the besiegers, and having ordered the construction of some extensive fortifications, confided their care to William Fitz-Osbern.

Fitz-Osbern assumed the offensive, and sent an expedition to capture Durham, but his force, after it had entered the town, was attacked by the inhabitants of the banks of the Tyne. The Normans sought to defend themselves in the episcopal palace, but their enemies set fire to the building, and the whole expedition perished by fire or the sword.

The men who gained this success were the descendants of the Danish colonists of Northumberland, and friendship had never ceased to exist between them and their parent stock in Denmark. When they found themselves threatened by the French, they sent to demand help from Denmark in the name of their common country. This application was supported by the prayers of many English refugees at the court of King Swegen, who implored the Danish sovereign to draw the sword against the French oppressor of a kindred Teutonic race. The Germanic peoples have ever shown themselves prompt to rush to arms to protect from stranger oppression the sons of the Fatherland when settled in foreign lands. King Swegen, notwithstanding the endeavours of William by

diplomacy and bribery to divert him from his object, in the autumn of 1069 called together his ships and his soldiers to sail to the rescue of England.

A fleet of two hundred and forty sail, commanded by Osbern, brother of King Swegen, and his sons Harold and Knut, started for England. On the news of the departure of the flotilla, the English in Scotland exerted all their influence to cause an expedition to aid the Danes. In the interval between the two festivals of the Virgin Mary in autumn, the Danish chiefs landed in England. The Normans, from the first period of their advance on the east and north of England, had foreseen the possibility of a Danish alliance, and fortified posts had been thickly erected along the eastern coast. It is remarkable that the Danes, coming to help the people of the country, the nationality to which the maritime population and fishermen belonged, should have attempted their landing on the most strongly guarded portion of the coast. It may have been that they hoped to capture London and shake the political power of the French ruler; or they may have calculated that a descent on the south-eastern coast, if successful, would cut off the Norman garrisons scattered in the north and west from their communications with Normandy, whence reinforcements were continually arriving. Had the Danish descent in this direction been successful, it can hardly be doubted that the French, cut off from Normandy, and exposed to the attacks of a victorious army in rear and to the assaults of the insurgent English in front, would have been in a precarious position. But William's



great military genius and wonderful foresight saved his followers from this hazard. The Danes were repulsed successively from Dover, Sandwich, and Norwich, and, again standing out to sea, were forced to seek the mouth of the Humber. As soon as their approach was known, the chiefs of the English from every direction hurried with all their kindred to join them. King Edgar, with the nobles who had sought an asylum in Scotland, hastened across the border, and a large army was quickly formed near the Danish landing-place.

With the English forming the advanced guard, and the Danes in support, the army so collected started to capture York. Information was sent to the burghers that the hour of their deliverance was nigh, and soon the city was completely invested. On the eighth day of the siege the French garrison was already closely pressed, and fired the houses near the ramparts, so that the besiegers might not avail themselves of their materials to fill up the moat. But the fire did not check the assailants' progress; the English and the Danes, aided by the burghers, forced their way into the city, and the garrison was driven to shut itself up in the two citadels. Here the French found no safety, for these were carried by assault on the same day; and in that hour of short-lived triumph the English seem to have wreaked a heavy vengeance on their oppressors. Several thousands of the men of France perished by the assault, and some who escaped and took refuge in a wood were burnt to death by the wood being set on fire.

In their wild frenzy of hatred, the English destroyed

the fortifications which the French had raised at York, instead of preserving them for their own defence of the town. King Edgar was declared king, and concluded a treaty of alliance with the burghers, and for a space a descendant of Cerdic again reigned in England.

With the fall of York fell the French power north of the Humber, and Edgar's kingdom stretched from that river to the Tweed. It was, however, the approach of winter; the Danish fleet took up winter-quarters at the mouths of the Ouse, the Humber, and the Trent. The Danish and English armies waited for spring to force the war southwards, and to drive the Normans from England.

The news of the capture of York and the defeat of his Norman troops considerably agitated William. But his vexation did not betray him into rash action. He essayed by craft to separate the Danes from their English alliance, and sent skilful messengers to Osbern, the brother of King Swegen, who commanded the Danish forces. The pleadings of these messengers were probably aided by the scantiness of provisions in the Danish camp, for the Dane yielded to the offer of William to give him secretly a large sum of money and permission to seize freely provisions on the whole eastern coast. On his side the Dane engaged to depart from England at the end of winter without fighting. Faithful to his promise to the Norman, faithless to the English cause, he departed from the English coast when the time for active operations returned.

William, at the same time as he cut away by diplo-



macy their active aid from the independent English, undermined the sympathy of their subjected countrymen with them. He listened to the complaints of the English in the occupied districts, checked the excesses of his agents and soldiers, gave the English inhabitants a few favours and some good words, and in return received from them fresh oaths and additional hostages. Having thus secured his base of operations, and deprived his adversaries of their best hope of resistance, William moved upon York with a considerable force of his best troops by long marches. The English who occupied the town, although forsaken by their allies, manfully held the walls, and were slaughtered in large numbers in the breaches. The contest was long, but in the end the French were victorious, and carried the city. King Edgar, and all who could escape with him, fled to Scotland, and again sought the generous asylum again hospitably proffered to them by Malcolm.

After the capture of York from the English for the second time, William took terrible measures to prevent the north-east coast from again harbouring a Danish invasion. His troops were let loose on the land north of the Humber, the fields under cultivation were destroyed, the hamlets and towns were burned, and the men were massacred. Nothing was spared, and in the winter of 1069 the whole of North-eastern England was devastated and converted into a desert. This rigorous execution was due to military, not political motives. William knew well that a desert land could not support an invading Danish army, any more than it could harbour a popula-

tion which might make common cause with the invader. The men of the north-east, driven from their own land by famine and desolation, sought refuge in the mountains of the western coast, in the marshes of the Wash, and upon the sea, where they maintained an independent life by the fruits of the plunder of the enemy's stragglers and the enemy's convoys.

The Normans now entered Durham without opposition. The town was converted into a fortified post, but the country around was devastated, and soon the whole district between the Humber and the Tyne was desolated by the fire and sword let loose upon them during this fearful winter.

William himself, sweeping the remnants of resistance before him, moved to the Roman wall, which stretched from the Tyne to the Solway, and after crushing out the last spark of rebellion in the north, returned to York. Famine, the certain successor of desolation, fell upon the devastated regions in the year 1070, and many who had escaped the Norman sword fell victims by Norman instrumentality to a more horrible, because more lingering, death. York itself was a mere heap of ruins, the result of two sieges. The remaining inhabitants of Yorkshire and of the counties in the north, after feeding on the dead horses left by the French army, at last greedily devoured human flesh. But this distress was the portion only of the Englishman : the French soldier, in his garrison or post of observation, lived in plenty. The French stores were filled with provisions ; for though food failed in Northern England, the natives still had treasure :



this was wrested from them, and employed to buy provisions on the Continent for the men who garrisoned the desolated country. Famine among the inhabitants ended in the subjugation of the country. Men formerly of note among the English inhabitants were forced, for the bare sustenance of life, to sue for any terms and to accept any conditions from their French oppressors; and some Englishmen were fain to earn the remnants of a groom's dinner by selling themselves and all their family into perpetual slavery.

But the country, devastated and desolate as it was, did not secure immunity even by its desolation. It was partitioned and divided among the conquering race, and such churches, shops, and even butchers' stalls as still remained, were farmed by Frenchmen to their miserable subjects. After the conquest of the north, the north-western shires were rapidly overrun. Cumberland became a Norman county; the soil of Westmoreland and the beautiful women of its valleys were divided among the Norman troops, who pursued into its mountains the English who sought a harbour of safety there. The English proprietors who lived in Lancashire were expelled and their properties swept into one demesne, which fell to Gilbert de Lacy. In the west, the French who had occupied Shrewsbury pushed beyond Offa's Dyke, entered Wales, and so commenced the conquest of that principality, which was only completed two centuries later. The first Norman fortress built on Cambrian soil was placed sixteen miles from Shrewsbury, by a leader named Baldwin, and in native Welsh was known as Tre-Faldwin,

but the name given to it by the French was Montgomery, in compliment to Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shropshire and of the annexed portion of Wales.

In the year 1070, Chester, which had hitherto been free from the foreigner's incursions, was taken by William, who marched thither from York, along roads, hitherto deemed impracticable for horses, which led across the chain of mountains running north and south through Western England. At Chester, as usual, a fortress was constructed; another at Salisbury, and another at Stafford. With England thus almost entirely occupied, William returned to Winchester, which was his spring residence, as Westminster was his summer, and Gloucester his winter abode.

The whole country from Cape Cornwall to the Tweed was now, if not subjugated, at least held. In every large town the French held a fortified position; on every high road their posts were established, and their cavalry in most parts scoured the open country without molestation. The war between the two races still continued, but in a different form. The French persecuted the English, and executed by sentence of court-martial those who raised a hand against them. The English emigrated in large numbers: some went to Wales or Scotland; others sought the countries where the Teutonic language was spoken and understood—Denmark or Germany; while several took service under the Emperors of the East, and Englishmen formed almost entirely the Imperial Guards who, under the name of Varangs, guarded the Imperial chamber and held the keys of the Imperial treasure.



Those who could or would not quit England took refuge in the forests and mountains of England, or in the marches which then extended so widely over Huntingdonshire and Lincolnshire. From these places of safety they made raids against the French convoys, or assassinated the French when they ventured abroad in detached bodies. The sanctity of the cause in which they struck sanctified all means in their eyes, and they inflicted not a little damage on the new proprietors of the land. It was in vain that the Normans branded these patriots as outlaws ; the law that they violated had no sanctity in their eyes, for they had given no sanction to its institution. In the eyes of the people, the name of outlaw became a term of affection instead of contempt ; and for long years after the Norman Conquest, the English ballad singers delighted to recount the tales of the daring deeds of the outlaws in the merry greenwood : to sing of how they roamed free, with no home but the forest glade, no resources but the king's deer ; how they seized the king's officers and held them to ransom ; how they plundered the king's deputies and judges, or seized the king's bishop as he passed through the forest, and forced him to dance a measure in his canonical robes.

For the Norman Conquest was not without its influence on the English Church. English bishops, English priests, English monks, and English nuns were hunted from their cathedrals, their glebe-houses, their cloisters, and their convents. In the places from which the clergy of English race were ousted, men of foreign race were

by force installed, who preached to the English in an unknown idiom, and could barely converse with their flocks in the vulgar tongue. These men, however, were useful, for they were still in the eyes of Englishmen endowed with the power to bind or loose, to absolve or to condemn; and they thus discovered many a patriotic plot, and detected for the good of their fellow-countrymen many a scheme of revenge. Thus the French clergy, who filled the churches and the cloisters, became, in the eyes of the wilder portions of the English community, mere symbols of foreign domination, and to these, a bishop dancing in his pontifical robes seemed but a humorous insult to the oppressing race.

The outlaws mustered in great numbers in the Isle of Ely, which, then surrounded by marshy lakes and forests of osiers, was one of the most inaccessible portions of the country. Here a camp of refuge was formed, whence sallies were made on the neighbouring Norman landholders. Here Hereward, who had long been the scourge of the invaders, sought an asylum, and here he conducted some of his most spirited enterprises. But in 1072 William surrounded and invaded the camp of refuge, and scattered its colonists.

Not, however, before its existence had led to the last invasion which was undertaken to restore English independence. The Danish fleet, which had wintered on the eastern coast in the winter of 1069, and by its withdrawal had allowed the second capture of York, retired to Denmark. King Swegen, who possibly received some of the money with which William gained the departure



of Osbern, was highly indignant with the leaders of the futile expedition. He banished his brother, and assuming the command of the armament himself, sailed for England, and entered the Humber. On the news of his arrival, the English of the neighbouring districts again rose, and came to form an alliance with the Danes. But the country was now devastated, the population was decimated by military executions, and there was neither food for an army nor an auxiliary force of sufficient dimensions to secure the victory of the Danes. King Swegen returned to Denmark, but sent his lieutenants to the Wash. These, pushing up the rivers that flow into the Wash by means of the Ouse and the Glen, reached the Isle of Ely, where they were received as kinsmen, friends, and liberators.

As soon as William heard of the arrival of the Danish fleet, he sent messengers and presents to the court of Swegen, and the king who had been so enraged with his brother for sacrificing the English cause was himself fain to call off his soldiers. The Danish fleet received orders to return home from Ely, and carried with it some portion of the treasure of the insurgents. This was the last invasion of England undertaken to secure the freedom of the island from French rule. The English sank into a sullen and exhausted lethargy, crushed down and worn out by the power of the oppressor. Twice more their hopes were for a moment revived, and the fears of the French conquerors aroused. A report was spread in 1080 that a thousand Danish vessels, sixty vessels of Norway, and a hundred ships

from Flanders, furnished by Robert de Frisen, were concentrating in the Gulf of Lymfiord, with the object of making a descent on the English coast and giving relief to the English nation. But the Danes did not come on this occasion, although an insurrection which took place at this time seems to have been planned to aid their landing.

Again in 1085 the English were excited and the French alarmed by the prospect of a Danish descent. The great bulk of the Norman troops was at once hurried into the eastern provinces, posts were established on the coasts, and cruisers sent to sea. William sought mercenaries from the Continent, and again promised pay and England's plunder to those who would defend the land which his earlier soldiers had won. An immense number arrived from all parts. Fresh soldiers were billeted in the towns and villages, and now the Normans equally with the English were forced to provide and to lodge William's troops. The tax of Dane-geld was resuscitated and re-established, at the rate of twelve francs in silver for every hide of land. The Frenchmen who were called upon to pay the impost wrung their contributions from their English farmers and serfs, who thus paid, to repulse the Danes coming to aid them, what their forefathers had paid to drive off the Scandinavians coming to invade them.

Bodies of troops overran the north-eastern shires, to occupy them and also to devastate them and render them incapable of supporting either the Danes who might seek to land, or the English who might seek to



aid their landing. No beast, no man, no crops, no fruit-trees were left within reach of the crews of vessels which might descend on the eastern coast. But even these precautions were not considered sufficient. The English in all parts near the sea were ordered by the proclamation of criers to don Norman dresses and to shave their hair in the Norman fashion.

But these precautions, stringent as they were, were not undertaken without cause. The King of Norway, Olaf Rys, the son of that Harold Hardrada who had been overthrown and slain at Stamford Bridge, was preparing to aid the nationality which had fought so resolutely against his sire. With him was allied Knut, the King of Denmark, son of Swegen, who had, as Danish chroniclers tell, yielded to the prayers of the exiled English, to the supplications addressed to him from England, and to the pity aroused in his breast by the sufferings of a nation so kindred to his own: a nation whose chief leaders and notables had been slain or exiled, and which found itself reduced to slavery under the foreign yoke of the French or the Romans.<sup>1</sup>

For the descendants of Rolf were now regarded by the Teutonic nationalities as a different and distinct race. In adopting the Romance tongue, the Scandinavian colonists of Neustria had eliminated from their society the outward sign of Teutonic descent. French manners and French blood had mixed with the Scandinavian habits and Scandinavian race which had settled in

<sup>1</sup> Hist. S. Canuti.

Normandy. The more refined and civilized tongue had triumphed, and, in the eyes of William, the Normans were regarded, and regarded themselves, as French, and were regarded by the conquered race as French, as much as Queen Victoria is regarded as English by her Indian subjects.

The English, on the other hand, still spoke a Teutonic language, and still preserved the manners transmitted to them from the common fatherland. They were still looked upon as kinsmen by the men who dwelt on the Elbe and the Weser, on the Eyder and the northern fiords.

The Teutonic King of Denmark recognized his relationship with his kindred, and in the cause of his oppressed kinsmen resolved to draw the sword.

But all the diplomatic arts of which William's legates were possessed were used to stay his enterprise. The whole power of the Church was thrown into the scale to delay his expedition. William bribed the Danish counsellors, and embraced the Danish bishops. Every difficulty was thrown in the way of the starting of the expedition, and every obstacle was raised which an obstructive hierarchy and unwilling captains could originate. The soldiers of Denmark were kept under arms for a long time without action and without excitement. They were willing to fight, but they could not endure the wearisome monotony of the camps in which they were assembled and delayed. They sought either to put to sea or to be allowed to return to their farms, their homesteads, and their commerce. Deputies



were sent to signify their wishes to their king. With an unwise rigour he resolved to restore discipline. The ringleaders were imprisoned, and the whole army ordered to pay a fine. These harsh measures inflamed discontent into revolt. A mutiny broke out in the Danish army in July 1086, in which the king was killed by his soldiers. A civil war was the result, which spread over Denmark, and the Danish people, thenceforward occupied in their own quarrels, forgot the woe and suffering of the kindred English.

This was the last attempt made by a foreign power to restore English independence. On its failure the English people began to despair of the future, and the foreign conquerors ruled triumphantly in our land. The English language was gradually ousted from the court, and was assigned to the common people, and, in the reign of Henry Beauclerc, French became the language of literature, society, and commerce. It was not till the time of the first Edward that the French supremacy was checked, and that the English element of our island's society was reasserted. Till that time the English were a subjected and servile race, and were mere serfs and villains in the land which Frenchmen ruled with all the dire severity of conquerors.

A long list of glorious victories, from Crécy to Waterloo, has avenged the French conquest of England. The Englishmen, conscious of recent victory, would willingly forgive and forget the past; but those who know France best, recognize that the enmity between the nations of France and England is far from extinct,

and were struck with wonder that during a recent war, many Englishmen hoped for the success of French soldiers and French diplomatists, who were engaged in conflict with the sons of our kinsmen, with the offspring of our own fatherland.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### INVASIONS WITH THE OBJECT OF CHANGING THE NORMAN RULE OF THE ENGLISH.

[AUTHORITIES.—Palgrave, Freeman, Grose's Military Antiquities, Matthew Paris, Henry of Huntingdon, &c.]

THE conquest of the English was gradually completed through England. Every precaution was taken by the French to prevent relief being given to their new subjects by foreign invaders. We have already seen how Northumbria was devastated to prevent its being made the base of operations of an invading army. Partly for the same reason, partly to satisfy the delight of the king in the chase, a large district of seventeen thousand acres between Winchester and the sea was also said to have been desolated to increase the old forest of Cetene, and to form a new forest. The uncultivated and desolate nature of this county is still attributed to William the Norman; but some portion of the want of cultivation is due, in great measure, to the geological nature of the district.

But William certainly gave nature every advantage, and the New Forest, planted with trees, spread from Salisbury to the sea, over a space of thirty miles, which

had previously contained sixty parishes. There can be almost no doubt that this forest, as the others, were created for military reasons as well as for the pleasures of the chase. It was William's object to make the country in the vicinity as unfit for the debarkation of a hostile army as he had made the coast north of the Humber. To this reason may partly also be ascribed the stringent and cruel regulations which he made against carrying arms in the forests of England, or hunting in the royal demesnes. They were probably directed against the English who, under the pretext of pursuing game, might meet in arms for political purposes. It was ruled that whoever should kill a stag or wild boar should have his eyes picked out; and game to the smallest kind was protected from danger.<sup>1</sup> William included within the royal demesne all the great forests of England, the haunts and hiding-places of the last opposers of French rule. The Norman game laws were the protection of the lives of many Norman subjects, and to secure this protection in its full importance, hunting in the royal demesne became a close privilege which could be granted by the sovereign alone. Many Normans of high rank objected to this exclusive law, but their opinions had to be held subservient to the general interests of the conquest, and only when the interests of the conquest no longer required it were the exclusive privileges of the chase surrendered by William's successors.

<sup>1</sup> This decree or Order in Council seems never to have been repealed, and by law Queen Victoria could to-day cause the eyes to be picked out of any poacher who shot a stag in Windsor Park.



In the thirteenth century the Anglo-French nobles enjoyed the privilege of hunting in their own woods and their own parks without danger of encounter with a royal forester or fine exacted by a royal keeper. The law for the preservation of game was expanded, and the Norman landed proprietors were able to keep watchers who might kill the Englishman detected in laying wait for deer or hares.

On the death of William Rufus his younger brother seized the crown, while the elder brother, Robert, was still absent from Normandy on the crusade preached by Urban II. He immediately took steps to gain over to his rule the powerful ecclesiastical party, and made some advances to the English population, who eyed him with more favour than his brother, from the simple fact that he had been born in England. To strengthen his appearance as an Englishman, Henry quickly married a wife of English blood : this was the orphan daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of Margaret, the sister of Edgar the Ætheling, who was then under the care of her aunt Christian, another sister of the Ætheling, being educated in the convent of Romsey in Hants. Her name was on her marriage changed from Edith to Matilda, as more familiar to Norman ears.

This marriage with a daughter of their race did not bring much comfort to the English population, and did much to estrange from the king the support of his French subjects. When Duke Robert landed in Normandy on his return from Italy, many of the French in

England were ill-contented with their new sovereign, and many French lords crossed the Channel to urge Robert to vindicate his claims and secure his due. Others sent messages to him, and avowed their determination to stand by him as soon as his banner was raised on the southern coast.

To the advice of these Robert hearkened, and collected a fleet and army for the invasion of England. Henry, supported by the clerical party and the men of English race, also prepared a fleet and army to oppose him. The English fleet was stationed on the coast of Sussex, but, through some cause which is not clearly explained, failed to intercept the Norman transports in their passage across the Channel. While Henry with his army awaited his brother in Sussex, the Norman fleet crossed the sea, and the Norman army without opposition effected its disembarkation at Portsmouth. Robert was immediately joined by many French lords, barons, and knights, and the two brothers were preparing for battle. But the least excited of the French leaders, headed by Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, availed themselves of the delay which had perforce to ensue before the armies could meet, appeased the quarrel, and concluded a treaty between the brothers. It was settled that Robert should again yield his claim to the crown of England in return for a yearly pension of two thousand pounds of silver, while Henry gave up to Robert the continental possessions of the family.

Henry did not enjoy his acquisition in peace: the King of France, aided by the Earl of Anjou, took up arms



against him ; but in 1120, William, the only legitimate son of Henry I., married the daughter of the Earl of Anjou. This alliance detached the Angevins from the confederation, and peace was restored by Henry consenting to do homage for Normandy to the King of France. Almost immediately afterwards Prince William was shipwrecked and drowned on his passage from Harfleur to England, and Henry was left without a son.

One legitimate child remained to him—Maude, who had married Henry V., emperor of Germany. Left a widow in 1126, she returned to her father's court, and by her father's desire the French barons swore fealty to her as Henry's future successor on the throne. One of the first who took this oath was Stephen, son of the Earl of Blois and of Adèle, the daughter of William I., the nephew of the king.

The same year Foulques, earl of Anjou, the father-in-law of the drowned Prince William, assumed the Cross and started for the Holy Land. Before his departure he gave over his possession to his son, Geoffrey of Anjou, surnamed *Plante Genet*, from wearing in his hat instead of a feather a sprig of flowering broom. To this young Count Geoffrey the widow Matilda was married in 1127, and in 1133 a son was born of this marriage, who afterwards became Henry II. of England. On the birth of his grandson, the King again assembled the principal men of the realm, and they swore fealty to Matilda and to her children after her as the successors of Henry I. on the English throne. Their vows did not bind them sternly, for two years later Henry I. died,

and Stephen of Blois, his nephew, immediately sailed for England, and was elected king by the lords, prelates, and barons who had sworn fealty to Matilda, and who satisfied their consciences by the plea that a woman could not succeed to the crown. The election of Stephen was sanctioned by a bull of Pope Innocent II. The young king was extremely popular with his French subjects. He gave to the landed proprietors the right of the forests which had been jealously guarded as a royal prerogative by his predecessors. His tastes were lavish and magnificent: he freely spent the treasure which William I. had collected, and which the sons of William had increased, and distributed in fiefs the lands which William had reserved as his share of the conquest, and which were known as the royal demesne. His popularity at first deprived the adherents of Matilda of all hope of the crown. Geoffrey of Anjou consented to forego the claims of his wife for a pension of five thousand marks, and Robert, earl of Gloucester, the natural brother of Matilda, swore homage to Stephen.

But this calm did not endure. Several of the young barons and knights who had sued without effect for a share of the demesne lands, attempted to seize them by force. Discontent sprung up and gradually increased. Robert of Gloucester, required by the Holy See to observe his oath to Matilda, broke the peace with Stephen, and sent him a message renouncing his homage. War could alone decide between the party of Matilda and that of Stephen. The latter, to secure an army on which he could depend, collected, by the promise of good pay,



mercenaries from the Continent, especially Flemings and Bretons ; but the English people apparently took no side in the quarrel, and, as is so often the case with neutrals, were equally abused and oppressed by both. In the quarrel between the partisans of Stephen and those of the Empress, they sided neither with the elected king, who vaunted his cause as that of order and of public peace, nor did they take a part in favour of the granddaughter of Edgar the Ætheling. Opposed equally to both parties, the English saw once again in the quarrels of their oppressors the hope of English independence. A last great national conspiracy was arranged, and on a given day, if Ordericus is to be credited, all the Normans in England were to be massacred. The plot was discovered by the agency of Lenoir, the Norman bishop of Ely. The most important leaders were forced to fly for safety to Wales or Scotland, but others were seized and executed.

Matilda, encouraged by the discontent of many of Stephen's subjects, incited by several of the French knights, and secretly encouraged by the chiefs of the clerical party, landed at Portsmouth on the 22nd of September, 1139, with a retinue of only 140 knights. Many of these, discontented with the King, hastened to join her. She moved quickly along the southern coast and threw herself into Arundel Castle, the gates of which were opened to her by Adelais, the queen dowager, now married to Albini, earl of Sussex. Adelais and the friends of Matilda in the east feared, before her forces had been collected, to remain in the east of the kingdom,

and withdrew to the west, where her cause and that of the Welsh, equally hostile to Stephen, excited more sympathy. She removed to Bristol Castle, the property of her natural brother Robert, earl of Gloucester, a man of great energy and superior military talent. The northern and western chiefs almost entirely renounced their oath to Stephen, and vowed again the support to Matilda which they had before pledged in her father's lifetime. Her party every day gained new strength. Stephen, deserted by many of the Anglo-French leaders, sent again abroad for mercenary troops, to whom he promised as the reward of success the plunder of the properties of his opponents. The opposite side also sought the aid of foreigners. At this time the Flemings were the most famous infantry in Europe. The services of the Brabançon soldiery were eagerly sought by both sides, and numbers arrived in England by various ports and various roads to join the armies of the Empress or of the King, both of whom promised to their supporters the plunder of their enemies' demesnes as the prize of victory. But in the civil war which now broke out, the foreign levies paid little heed to distinguish nicely between friend and foe. Their example quickly spread in both armies, and indiscriminate plunder seems to have been the rule during the contest. For years the whole country was devastated by constant forays and counter-forays.

"Every rich man," says the Saxon Chronicle, "built castles and defended them against all, and they filled the land full of castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched people by forcing them to work at these castles, and



when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took there whom they supposed to have goods, both men and women, by night and by day, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and pained them with unutterable pain, for never were martyrs so pained as these were. Some they hung up by the feet, and smoked with foul smoke; some they hanged by the thumbs, others by the head, and hung brands on their feet. About the heads of some they knotted strings and writhed them so that they went to the brain. They put them in quarters where there were adders and snakes and frogs, and so wore them out. Some they put in a crucet-house—that is, a chest which is short and narrow, and not deep; and they put sharp stones therein, and crushed the man therein, so that they broke all his bones. There were loathsome and grim things in many castles, called *sachenteges*, which two or three men had enough to do to carry. This was so made that it was fastened to a beam, and they put sharp iron about the man's throat and neck, so that he could neither sleep, nor lie, nor sit, and bore all that iron. Many thousands they wore out with hunger. I cannot, and I may not, tell all the wounds nor all the pains that they did to the wretched men of this land. And this lasted the nineteen winters while Stephen was king, and ever it was worse and worse. They levied taxes on the town continually, and called it *tenserie*.<sup>1</sup> Then the wretched men had no more to give. Men they robbed, and all the towns, so that thou mightest journey all a

<sup>1</sup> From *tenser*, the old French “to chastise.”

day's journey and shouldst never find a man dwelling in a town, nor land tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh and cheese and butter, for there was none of them in the land. Wretched men starved of hunger : some lived on alms who had been erewhile rich. Some fled out of the land. There was never more wretchedness in the land ; never did heathen men do worse than they did. At length they spared neither church nor churchyard, but took all that was valuable therein, and then burned the church and all together. Nor did they spare the land of bishops or abbots or of priests, but they robbed the monks and the clergy, and every man plundered his neighbour as much as he might. If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them and thought that they were robbers. The bishops and clergy were ever cursing them, but this to them was nothing, for they were all accursed and forsworn and reprobate. The earth bare no corn ; you might as well have tilled the sea, for the land was all ruined by such deeds, and it was said openly that Christ and his saints slept. These things, and more than we can say, did we suffer during nineteen years, because of our sins."

Great terror prevailed in the neighbourhood of Bristol from the time that the Empress Matilda and her soldiers established their head-quarters there. Soldiers disguised in English dress constantly left the castle, and with arms concealed wandered through the neighbourhood, mingling with the crowds at market or in places of public resort. As soon as they saw a man whose appearance bespoke easy circumstances, they rushed upon him and



brought him into the castle, bound or gagged with wood or iron, where he was detained till ransomed.

As soon as Stephen had collected his forces he marched against Bristol. He failed to take the city, which was well defended and well held, but his troops burnt and ravaged the surrounding country. Stephen then attacked one after another the fortresses along the Welsh frontier, the owners of which had almost in a body joined Matilda. Many of these he took, but while he was engaged in the tedious operations of these sieges, an insurrection broke out in the morasses around Ely, which had been the last refuge of English independence. This district, always formidable on account of its topographical facilities for defence, was made the trysting-place of the French barons of the north, who opposed Stephen's claim to the crown. Recalled from the west by the intelligence of the formation of a body of antagonists in this direction, where a fortress was being rapidly constructed, Stephen returned hastily and commenced an attack on the Isle of Ely. He made bridges of boats across the water, over which he passed his cavalry, and completely defeated the insurgent troops, which were led by Baldwin de Reviers and Lenoir, bishop of Ely. The Bishop escaped to Gloucester, whither Matilda had moved from Bristol, where her officers were employed in repairing the breaches in the cathedrals, forming the churches into temporary fortresses, and arming the fortifications with the engines of war which at that time served as garrison artillery.

The insurgent troops defeated at Ely were rallied by the Bishop of Lincoln, who formed an army on the

eastern coast to oppose the King, and seized the castle of Lincoln. Stephen marched to attack the fortress, and, aided by the burghers of the town, laid siege to the castle, hoping soon to capture it by assault or famine. Robert, earl of Gloucester, hastened with an army to raise the siege, and Stephen, hearing of his approach, took up a position to cover the besieging force. The battle was fought on the 2nd February, 1141. After a stern onset the wings of Stephen's army were broken and driven off the field. The troops which had been victorious at Ely were defeated near Lincoln, and abandoned their leader, who was taken prisoner. Carried by his captors to Gloucester, Stephen, by the counsel of the military advisers of Matilda, was confined in the donjon of Bristol. His defeat and capture was the signal for the great bulk of the French barons to desert his cause. His brother Henry, bishop of Winchester, on condition of freely exercising the whole Church patronage of England, the exercise of which was a constant source of quarrel between the temporal and spiritual authorities of the realm, acknowledged Matilda's title, crowned her at Winchester with the sanction of the assembled prelates, barons, and knights,<sup>1</sup> and excommunicated those who were rebellious against her.

But the good fortune of the granddaughter of William the Conqueror did not long endure. Her authority for

<sup>1</sup> It is asserted that only ecclesiastics were present at this assembly, and that the only laymen present were the delegates of London, who protested against the election. It seems unlikely that the Barons, who had now all forsaken Stephen's cause, would not be present.



a short time, by the judicious measures of Robert of Gloucester, appeared secured, but success engendered in the Empress an arrogance which quickly bore fruit. The Bishop of Winchester and other authors of her elevation were often received with coldness and contumely, and many supporters left her who would not submit to her treatment, but who were so far favourable that they would not declare for the King.

From Winchester Queen Matilda went to London, and immediately levied a heavy impost on the city. The townspeople, already despoiled by the civil war, remonstrated, but were treated with indignity. Angered by Matilda's bearing, they burst out into insurrection. The Empress and her Angevin supporters, surprised by the suddenness of the movement, and afraid to venture a contest in the narrow and tortuous streets, where superior military skill could be of little avail, mounted their horses and fled. The Empress escaped by the road to Oxford, and she safely gained that town with her brother the Earl of Gloucester and the few followers who still adhered to her in her misfortune.

The people of London were satisfied with driving the Empress from their city, and did not pursue her; but the partisans of Stephen entered the city and garrisoned it with their troops under the pretext of an alliance with the citizens: all that the burghers obtained was permission to enrol a thousand of their own men with helmet and hauberk, as auxiliaries of the troops who quickly assembled in the name of Stephen.

The Bishop of Winchester, seeing the recovery of his

brother's party, broke with the Angevins and declared again for the prisoner at Bristol. He raised the royal standard at Winchester Castle and on his episcopal palace, which was strengthened and defended like a fortress. Robert of Gloucester besieged him; the garrison set fire to the houses in which the besiegers sought cover, and these were obliged to take refuge in the churches. A relieving army came up from London: Robert of Gloucester was taken prisoner, but the Empress escaped.<sup>1</sup>

The captured Earl of Gloucester was, however, the life and soul of Matilda's party, and Matilda, sensible of his importance, agreed to exchange Stephen for him. Stephen quitted Bristol Castle and resumed his rule over the central and eastern provinces.

During his captivity Normandy had submitted to Geoffrey of Anjou, the husband of Matilda. On his release, Robert of Gloucester persuaded Geoffrey to allow his son Prince Henry to come to England. Henry landed at Wareham in 1142 with a small army, but his arrival produced nothing decisive. The civil war still continued. Stephen took Oxford in 1143, after a long siege: he was again defeated by Robert of Gloucester at Wilton, but the Empress, wearied with the protracted struggle, retired to Normandy in 1146, whither she had previously sent her son. About the same time Robert of Gloucester died, and the cause of Stephen seemed to be triumphant; but many of the large landed proprietors were still hostile to him, the country was overrun by mercenary soldiers

<sup>1</sup> The accounts of this siege at Winchester are most contradictory.



unrestrained by proper discipline, and the people benefited little by the apparent cessation of hostilities.

In 1150 Prince Henry was with Matilda's consent invested in the duchy of Normandy. In 1151, on the death of his father, this prince inherited Anjou and Maine, and in the following year contracted a marriage which gave him a still more formidable power on the Continent. Eleanor, the daughter and heiress of William, earl of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine, had been married for sixteen years to Louis VII., king of France, and had accompanied that monarch on a crusade, when it was whispered that she had listened too fondly to the tale of love of a young and gallant Saracen. This report, although it is believed now to have been wholly unfounded, induced Louis to seek a divorce, which was granted on the ground of consanguinity. Six weeks after her divorce Henry married Eleanor, and in her right acquired Poitou and Aquitaine. The fame of these great acquisitions bruited through England again raised a hostile party to Stephen, and when he wished to have his son Eustace anointed as his successor, the Archbishop of Canterbury refused to perform the ceremony, and fled across the Channel for protection.

This action of the Primate was but an indication of a deeply-spread hostile feeling to Stephen in England. Prince Henry, made aware of this disposition of the English barons, made a second descent on the English coast. Again he landed at Wareham, and pushed inland without encountering opposition. Near Malmesbury Stephen met the invaders. In the action which ensued

the young Prince Henry gained an advantage, and having taken Malmesbury, threw reinforcements into Wallingford, which Stephen, who had now collected a superior force, was about to besiege. About this time Eustace the son of Stephen died, and the way was open to an accommodation. The Norman leaders, weary of perpetual war, seized the opportunity, and by their mediation terms were arranged. It was agreed that Henry should surrender to Stephen for his life the whole territory of England, on the condition that afterwards Henry should succeed. The Barons swore fealty and did homage to Henry as the successor of Stephen, and then the prince left the kingdom, but in October 1154, on the death of Stephen, returned and assumed the crown.



## CHAPTER IX.

### REORGANIZATION OF THE ENGLISH ARMY.—ATTEMPT TO UNITE ENGLAND WITH FRANCE UNDER THE FRENCH CROWN.

[AUTHORITIES.—Thierry, Palgrave, Freeman, Grose, Sir Harris Nicolas, &c.]

BUT the reign of Henry II., though a reign of prosperity for England when compared with those that preceded it, was not a reign of peace. In 1159 war broke out with the King of France concerning the county of Toulouse, which Henry claimed in virtue of the title of his wife, while Louis of France protected the rival pretender, Raymond de St. Gilles. To carry on this war Henry made an important change in the military organization which had existed in England since the Norman Conquest. Hitherto the Norman kings of England had held the power of convoking their military tenants in case of war, and embodying them in the army for forty days. The royal military tenants came with their tenants, and a heterogeneous army was formed, often intractable and undisciplined, as command depended not upon military capacity but upon birth. Such an army was also unfit to carry out a campaign, as its components were able to quit the ranks after a limited service of forty days.

Henry, in order to carry on the war in France, raised from his military tenants a tax in lieu of personal service, and levied a scutage on each knight's fee. The military tenants were glad to compound their personal service for money, with which the King was able to raise a paid army more amenable to command, and more willing to tolerate lengthened operations. The natural result of the introduction of paid military service was, that a much larger proportion of the lower classes were now found in the ranks. These were Englishmen : but the Englishmen who fought in Normandy and Maine were very differently armed to their ancestors who had fought at Senlac. They no longer wielded the ponderous battle-axe, the favourite weapon of the House-carls of Harold, but were armed with large bows and arrows a cloth-yard long. The Norman conquest had caused this change in English armament through two reasons. The English who had accepted Norman service and had consented to draw Norman pay, naturally were obliged to adopt the arms and tactics of their leaders. Those who had adopted the wild and independent life of the mountain, the forest, and the morass, had found it necessary to discard weapons useful only in close combat for others which could reach from a distance a Norman knight or a king's stag. The sons of both these classes were educated from infancy in the use of the bow, and England, in less than a century after the Norman conquest, was the land famous for archers.

In 1173 Prince Henry claimed the crown of England from his father Henry II., and military operations were



commenced against the King in support of this claim, both on the Continent, where Henry himself led his army, and in England, where he left Henry de Lucy as guardian of the realm. The King of Scotland, in support of Prince Henry, made an irruption into Northumberland, and did great damage to the country, but being met by De Lucy, he agreed to a suspension of arms, and retreated into his own land. This truce enabled De Lucy to march southwards and meet an invasion which the Earl of Leicester, a partisan of the prince, had made in Suffolk at the head of a large force of Flemings. Leicester was joined by Hugh Bigod, who admitted the Flemings to his castle of Framlingham. Making this his point of departure, Leicester marched into the heart of the country, hoping to induce many vassals and military tenants to join him. At Leicester, Northampton, and Farnham, Leicester and his Flemings were encountered by the royal forces, and at the last place were completely defeated by the troops of De Lucy and of the Earls of Arundel, Gloucester, and Cornwall. Leicester was captured, and the Flemings were glad to gain their lives as the price of at once quitting the kingdom.

The reign of John was marked by three great contests which the King had to sustain, and in none of which he did aught but lose reverence and respect. In the first contest with the King of France, by the weakness of John, before the end of the year 1204 Anjou, Maine, nearly all Touraine, Brittany, and even Normandy, which the House of Rollo had held for four centuries, were torn

away from the English crown, and Poitou, Guienne, and a small portion of Touraine were alone, out of the wide continental possessions of Henry II., retained by the King of England. The contest of the King with the Pope almost brought on an invasion of England, for Innocent III., in consequence of the rash assaults of John on the English clergy, issued against the King personally his bull of excommunication, absolved all the King's subjects from their allegiance, and called on all the sons of the Church to dethrone the Church's enemy. There were strong hands ready and willing to execute the Papal sentence of deposition. Philip Augustus, king of France, who had expelled John from Normandy, was equally ready to expel him from England, and seize his insular as well as his continental possessions. A large armament was collected by Philip for the invasion of England at the mouth of the Seine, and though John, by seizing the Church property and rapaciously extorting contributions from his subjects, was enabled to maintain a considerable mercenary army, he could not, supported by mercenaries alone, hope successfully to contend against the great forces being arrayed against him by the French king. John appealed to the English people, and so great was the patriotism of the country that an army of 60,000 men was quickly assembled on the coast of Kent. But though this army was numerically sufficient for its purpose, it failed signally in a most important essential. The soldiery neither respected nor loved John, and had neither confidence in him as a military leader nor affection towards him as a beneficent sovereign.



John, foreseeing the result of a contest with an army so demoralized, in abject terror implored Pandulph, the papal legate, to have mercy upon him and to save him. In a meeting with Pandulph at Dover, in May 1213, he submitted to all the demands of the Pope, and surrendered to Pandulph, as the papal representative, the sovereignty of the kingdom of England and Ireland, and did homage to the Pope as sovereign lord, binding himself to hold his realm as papal vassal. In return, Pandulph promised that the excommunication should be withdrawn, and admonished the French king to cease his designs for the conquest of England. The admonition of Pandulph was supported by an English squadron under the command of the Earl of Salisbury, which destroyed the French fleet in the harbour of Damme. The French king abandoned his project of invasion, and his army was sent into Flanders instead of to England.

The man on whose account the Pope had quarrelled with the king was the man who became the leader and inspirer of the great national movement which led to the memorable contest between John and the nobility of the realm. Archbishop Langton was the chief promoter of the famous Magna Charta, the title-deed of English liberty. But the contest between the King and the Barons did not conclude with the grant of the Charter. After the meeting at Runnymede, John retired to the Isle of Wight, and there remained till the barons had dispersed to their homes and dismissed their retainers. Then, having collected a considerable force of mercenaries from the Con-

tenant, he burst in as an invader into his own kingdom. The absence of all armed force to oppose his progress made him master of the open country. Rochester was besieged and reduced by famine. Then the King commenced a march of terror through England, letting his mercenary troops loose on the country. From Dover to Berwick he spread devastation ; villages and castles were given to the flames, and the people were driven into the morasses and mountains, or subjected to horrible tortures by the soldiery to force them to reveal their hidden treasure. The nobility of the north, who were particularly the objects of the royal animosity, fled across the border and sought protection from and paid homage to Alexander, the young king of Scots.

To such an extremity was the liberal party reduced by the outrages of the foreign soldiery of the King, that its leaders had recourse to the desperate expedient of inviting over Louis, the son of King Philip of France, and offering him the crown of England as the price of his assistance. Louis sailed from France with a fleet of six hundred vessels, and, on May 23,<sup>1</sup> 1216, landed on the Isle of Thanet. He was received in London in June by a large body of barons and prelates, who swore fealty to him and did him homage in St. Paul's Cathedral. He in turn swore to restore their liberties to all classes of the inhabitants of England. The first result of the appearance of Prince Louis was that the bulk of his foreign troops and English adherents deserted John ; but the Gascons and Poitevins remained faithful to him. Most

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Paris.



of the fortresses fell into the hands of the party of Louis, but Dover held out for John under the command of Hubert de Burgh. But a rumour gained credence that Louis had formed the resolution of exterminating the Barons of England and installing officers from the Continent in their properties. This report caused many to return to John's side, and he was enabled to assemble a large army with the view of fighting a decisive battle for the crown. But in passing from Lynn to Lincolnshire along a road which was overflowed at high water, and not choosing the proper time for his purpose, his baggage and treasure were overwhelmed by the sea and lost. The vexation caused by this disaster augmented an illness under which he was then labouring, and King John died at Newark on the 19th October, 1216.

The right of the throne was left by John to his son Henry, who at the time of his father's death was but ten years of age. But the famous Earl of Pembroke stood forward as protector of the young king and of the afflicted country. By Pembroke's interposition the young prince was crowned as King Henry III., and in the name of the new king proclamations were published which told that all his subjects should enjoy a full amnesty for the past and freedom of laws and of rights in future. A new copy of the Great Charter was widely promulgated, and every precaution taken that its terms should be publicly made known. Nevertheless, some of the Barons still adhered to the cause of the Dauphin, who with their support and his own French army was enabled to carry on the war for nearly twelve months

after the death of King John. When that king died the French prince held London and most of the southern districts. In the north and west he had partisans, and the King of Scotland and the borderers of Wales were of course always ready to act as his allies against the English. On the other hand, Hubert de Burgh, the staunch commandant at Dover who had always remained constant to the House of Plantagenet, detained the main French army for many weeks before his fortress, and foiled all Louis's endeavours to capture it by force or bribery. The delay of the French in front of Dover gave time to Pembroke to reorganize the royal party, with which was now combined the national liberal party. On the 20th May, 1217, the Protector gained a brilliant victory at Lincoln over a large force which Louis had sent there under the Comte de Perche. This victory cleared all England north of the Thames of the foreigners, but did not much to shake their footing in the country, for a powerful fleet and army had been equipped in France to reinforce Louis and complete the conquest of our island. The French Armada set sail from Calais on the 24th August, 1217, under Eustace the Monk, an ecclesiastic by profession, who had become a buccaneer by choice, and was as famous for his seamanship and daring as infamous for his cruelty. The French design was to sail up the Thames to London. But De Burgh, the commandant of Dover, took counsel with the men of the Cinque Ports, and sixteen English vessels manned by English seamen, with twenty smaller ships, put to sea and carried Hubert de Burgh and his



bravest knights to intercept the invaders.<sup>1</sup> The French fleet, far superior in number and in the tonnage of the ships, was soon seen approaching. The wind blew fresh from the south, and the French fleet was running before it to double the North Foreland. The small English squadron manœuvred to gain the wind, and seemed at first to avoid the French fleet and stand out to sea as if making for Calais. Eustace the Monk, who knew the strength of the defences of Calais, laughed at what he imagined to be an English counter-stroke which he knew must be ineffectual. But when the English ships were well to windward of the French, they suddenly tacked and bore down on the rear of the invading squadron. As soon as the English came under the sterns of the French vessels they threw in grapnels and boarded, cutting down the stays and halliards with axes, so that the sails fell down on the crouching French crews and soldiery like "nets upon small birds," as the old historian expresses it. Surprised by the sudden and determined onset, the French made a short and disordered resistance. Many of the sailors were put to the sword, and only fifteen vessels escaped. The great bulk of the remainder fell as prizes into the hands of De Burgh, and were towed into Dover harbour amid the cheers of the townspeople, who had been able to witness the fight from the cliffs.

This victory off Dover secured the crown of England to Henry III. Prince Louis, on hearing that the force intended to reinforce him had been defeated and scattered, entered into negotiations with Pembroke. A treaty was

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harris Nicolas's "History of the Royal Navy."

concluded at Kingston in September, by the terms of which Louis and his troops were allowed an unmolested return to France, and a full amnesty was granted to the subjects of the English crown who had espoused the French cause. Before the close of the year all the fortresses which Louis had occupied were handed over to the troops of the King of England, the prisoners were exchanged, and the French prince with his army sailed from the English coast.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS BETWEEN THE INVASION OF PRINCE  
LOUIS AND DESCENT OF MONTMORENCI.

During the long reign of Henry III. England was not free from war: the military annals detail the battles of Lewes and Evesham, the death of Leicester on the field, and the daring of Prince Edward in the fight. But these battles sprang from internal quarrels, not from foreign interference; and as they neither resulted from nor induced a descent upon the English coast, detailed description of them would be foreign to the purpose of this work.

But the reign of Henry III. was conspicuous for the advance of learning; and experimental science in the hands of Roger Bacon, the Franciscan friar, attracted an attention which subsequently effected a revolution in the science of war.

During the reign of Edward I. one descent from the sea was made upon the coast of England. During the



progress of the war in Scotland, the French marauding squadrons in the Channel continually menaced the English coast. They were generally kept at bay by the ships and men of the Cinque Ports, but Montmorenci succeeded in making a successful descent on the shore in the year 1296, and partially destroyed the town of Dover. The result was only the capture of some booty and the destruction of some English property.

No further invasion of England occurred during the reign of Edward I., but this reign marked an epoch in English affairs which has had a great influence on the subsequent military history of our country. The loss of Normandy by John had compelled the Norman barons who were landowners in England to reside entirely on their English estates. They thence became accustomed to look upon England as their home, and Englishmen as their countrymen, instead of regarding the island as a conquered land and its people as a subject race. The English language became gradually the language of all classes of society, and men of all ranks henceforward formed in the line of battle shoulder to shoulder for England's rights and for England's honour.

## CHAPTER X.

### INVASION BY ISABELLA AND MORTIMER—1326.

THE failure of Edward II.'s disastrous expedition into Scotland at Bannockburn, was succeeded by great misery in England. Famine and pestilence desolated the land: society was disordered, and the nobility and people, grievously angered by the King's partiality for worthless favourites, were ready to assent to a change of the sovereign.

Queen Isabella, the most deadly enemy of her husband's many enemies, had sought refuge from the indignities of Edward at the court of her brother, Charles le Bel. To the same court she caused the young Prince Edward to be conveyed, and in his name Queen Isabella, with Lord Mortimer, one of the chief of the disaffected barons, undertook offensive operations against the King of England. Mortimer and Isabella made Hainault the base of these operations. There they raised an armed force of about 2,000 Flemings and Germans, besides the numerous English malcontents who naturally rallied round them abroad. With this army, sailing from



the Flemish coast in September 1326, Isabella, Mortimer, and the young prince landed at Orwell, in Suffolk. No force was prepared to meet them on the coast, the landing was totally unopposed, and soon a large and powerful party of the inhabitants of the country joined the standard of the young prince. It is evident that Isabella must have been well aware of the existence of this party before leaving Hainault. Her army could not have mustered more than 3,000 fighting men. With such a force it would have been easy to have made a raid on an unguarded portion of the coast, and, as the French cruisers so often did, have carried away a certain amount of plunder; but to have attempted to have advanced from Orwell to the metropolis through a hostile country would have been impossible, even had the King been able to retain the allegiance of the 10,000 men-at-arms and 4,000 archers who now formed the more regular portion of the defensive forces of the realm. For a force of 3,000 men moving through an enemy's territory from Orwell to London, must have left at least one-third of its number to guard the port of debarkation and the line of its communications, and could not have accepted battle with even the citizens of London alone without almost certain defeat.

But King Edward II. had almost no party, and certainly no army. Three princes of the blood royal—the Earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Leicester—joined the Queen as soon as she landed. The Bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford hurried to her camp with all the forces they could collect, and other prelates sent her aid in men and

money. Not a sword was drawn against her cause, as she marched forward proclaiming that she had come to free the kingdom and the King from the tyranny of the Spensers. Her army continually increased and swelled as she advanced.

Her husband, on the other hand, after vainly endeavouring to raise the citizens of London, fled to the western counties before the mere news of Isabella's advance. Here neither he nor his hated counsellors found safety. The elder Spenser sought a refuge in the fortress of Bristol, but the ill-feeling of the populace compelled him to surrender the place on the third day that the Queen's soldiery invested the walls. The King, accompanied by the younger Spenser, had previously taken ship at this port to escape their enemies beyond the sea. The opposite party immediately declared that the King had by flying the realm forfeited his crown, and the young prince was proclaimed guardian and governor of the kingdom. The King did not, however, escape: a storm drove his vessel on the coast of South Wales, where he and the younger Spenser were taken prisoners by the Queen's troops near Neath Abbey, on the 17th November. The latter was hurried to Hereford and immediately executed as a traitor; the King was taken to Kenilworth, and subsequently to Berkeley Castle, where a dreadful death was inflicted upon him.



## CHAPTER XI.

### INVASIONS OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

THE contest between England and France, which arose from the claim of Edward III. to the French crown, has been named by French historians the Hundred Years' War. Commenced by the English invasion of Picardy in 1338, the contest was renewed by Henry V. in 1415, and continued till the English were finally driven from Guienne in 1453. Not, however, without cessation, for there were ever and anon brief periods of hollow truce, but even during these the quarrel was merely latent, not extinguished. Before the English king invaded France, the French Government had given him cause of complaint. The war which had broken out with Scotland five years previously was ever fanned and nursed by French influence and French assistance. And while King Philippe de Valois encouraged the Scotch enemies of England, and made invasions into Edward's continental provinces, he seems to have meditated striking a home blow at England itself, and of carrying an offensive war into the island. There are reasons to believe that in

1335 and 1336 fleets and armaments were collected in the French ports of the Channel which were intended for more serious undertakings than merely to aid the Scotch in their own country, or to conduct such buccaneering and pillaging descents on the English coasts as continually were taking place. These preparations aroused considerable alarm in England. In August 1335, it was deemed necessary to place the country in a state of defence against invasion; special military commanders were nominated particularly for the defence of London; and merchant ships were impressed and converted into men-of-war. In the following spring all Englishmen between the ages of sixteen and sixty were ordered to equip themselves with arms and prepare for military service: and in the August of that year the principal subject laid before the consideration of Parliament was the necessity of preparing the country for defence against invasion.<sup>1</sup>

The energetic measures adopted by the English Government seem to have deterred the French from making a heavy attack with the view of the conquest of the island; and by the end of the year, Edward, justly aware that a true defensive military policy can only be secured by assuming the offensive, began to make preparations for carrying the war into his adversary's realm. Had he not done so; had he been content to merely organize a military force solely available for the defence of the island, and incapable of striking an aggressive blow, the French preparations might have been carried on with ease

<sup>1</sup> Rymer (ed. 1739), vol. ii. part iii. pp. 132—142.



for years, and the whole defensive army of England have been retained uselessly under arms for a generation.

But the true military genius of the great Plantagenet clearly perceived the necessity of a totally opposite line of conduct. He made an alliance with the Flemings, which gave him Flanders and the port of Antwerp as his continental base of operations, and by the winter of 1339 had, after a short campaign in Picardy, assembled a considerable English army at Ghent, with which he intended again to cross the north-eastern frontier of the provinces subject to Philippe in the following spring. But from 1337 to 1340 the French fleet was superior to the English, and not only did it threaten to intercept the passage of supplies and reinforcements to the army in the Low Countries, but actually made a descent upon Portsmouth, partially destroyed the town, and retired with considerable plunder and without punishment.

The necessity of a secure communication between his army on the Continent and England caused Edward to devote serious attention to gaining that command of the seas which English kings had formerly claimed, but which they had done little to enforce since the victory gained off Dover under John.

The material which King Edward possessed wherewith to cope with the naval power of France, was principally derived from the men and vessels which the Cinque Ports were bound to furnish for the defence of the coasts. The vessels which the ports had to furnish fully equipped with crews were fifty-two in number; but Edward III. largely supplemented this squadron with royal vessels

built by his own order, as well as by impressed merchantmen.

With the fleet thus formed in 1340, King Edward won the great naval victory of Sluys, asserted the English supremacy on the seas, and gained a safe communication for his armies across the Channel. But French privateering descents still continued, and in the autumn of this year, only three months after the battle of Sluys, we find that by such descents Southampton was considerably damaged and much plundered. Such expeditions, however, had in those days but little effect on the result of a war. Now-a-days it would be different if hostile cruisers were to run into the Mersey, the Clyde, or the Humber, for their presence would cause extreme commercial misfortune, and the ransoms they might levy might seriously diminish the national wealth. But on the other hand, in modern times such descents must be much more difficult, and even in the absence of friendly cruisers could be rendered almost impracticable if the approaches to our great commercial ports were but provided with proper batteries armed with long-range guns.

A more serious invasion took place in the reign of Edward III., though no landing was ever attempted with the view of the subjection of the country, or even the occupation of the metropolis.

The English, too confident in the naval supremacy which they had won over the French at Sluys, and the Spaniards at Winchelsea, failed to give proper heed to the improvement or maintenance of their fleet: and even the fortifications of the seaports were allowed to



fall into decay. Of this the French Regent had sure intelligence, and turned it to account. In 1360 a fleet with a considerable force was rapidly fitted out in the French ports; and when the news reached England that that fleet was at sea, no naval force could be sent out to meet it. On the contrary, the English vessels were hauled up on the coasts so as to be beyond the reach of the enemy: and a general muster was commanded of all men capable of bearing arms, to guard the maritime counties. Naturally a hasty and ill-organized levy was found to be of no avail, and the French landed without opposition at the then important town of Winchelsea, burnt the place, slaughtered a large number of inhabitants, and desolated the neighbouring country far and wide before an efficient force could be collected to check their inroads. Still, during this reign the English nation was united: there was no party within the realm to stretch a hand to an invader from without; and although buccaneering descents were easy, any attempt at invasion with a view to the subjugation of an united and patriotic people, was necessarily extremely difficult. The last truce made by Edward III. with the King of France expired shortly before the accession of Richard II. The French then recommenced hostilities with great activity, and in 1377, after sweeping the English merchantmen off the seas, in June made a descent on Rye in conjunction with the Scotch. Having plundered that town, they retired to the Isle of Wight, where they remained a short time. They also did much damage to Portsmouth, Plymouth, Dartmouth, and Hastings.

The Duke of Lancaster, uncle of the English king, claimed the crown of Castile in right of his wife, the daughter of King Pedro the Cruel. The attempts made to enforce this claim threw the Spaniards into alliance with the French, and in 1380 a combined flotilla made another buccaneering expedition against the English coasts, and plundered the town of Winchelsea.

But this claim of Lancaster shortly afterwards exposed England to the danger of a much more serious invasion. In the June of 1386, the Duke carried with him to Spain the bulk of the English navy and an army of 10,000 men, which comprised the best chivalry of the nation. The advisers of the young French king, Charles VI., saw the opportunity of striking a heavy blow against the great enemy of their nation, and prepared to deal it with extraordinary energy. Every vessel which could be obtained or impressed between Seville and Hamburg, was collected in the harbour of Sluys and the neighbouring ports of the Flemish shore. The French king marched thither at the head of an army of 60,000 men—the most numerous and the best equipped force which France had raised for many years. The conquest of England was intended; heavy taxes were laid on the French nation to provide for the equipment of the force; and vessels to the number of 1,387 were collected for the transport of cavalry as well as infantry. Every preparation which foresight could suggest was made to insure the success of the expedition; wooden huts which could be put together on arrival so as to house the troops, were even provided. On the English coast all was dismay and perturbation:



what preparations for defence were made were lax and feeble; and it seems certain that but for the contrary winds, most serious disasters, if not total subjugation, would have fallen upon England. The middle of August had been fixed upon as the date for the sailing of the armament, but the wind blew steadily adverse to the French, and confined their vessels to harbour till the last day of October. Then it changed, and the force, impatient for action and of high hope, set forth. Hardly, however, had the fleet sailed before the wind chopped round, and, freshening to a gale, drove the invaders back to the Flemish coast with heavy loss of men and ships. After this first failure, the expedition was postponed for a year, and finally was altogether abandoned, not, however, on account of any formidable resistance that England was in a position to offer.

Predatory incursions were made against the English coasts during the next ten years, when Richard married a French princess, and a truce of twenty-five years was one of the articles of the marriage contract.

We must pause in our survey of the invasions due to the Hundred Years' War, to notice here one which was the result of domestic political strife in England, and which resulted in a change in the English dynasty. The Duke of Lancaster, cousin of the King, and son of the Duke of Lancaster who had nearly brought about an invasion of England through his claim to the crown of Castile, had been arbitrarily exiled by Richard II. In the July of 1389, while Richard, who had earned the indignant hatred of the nation, was absent on an expedition to

Ireland, Lancaster landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, with a handful of merely fifteen lances. So unpopular, however, was the King, that the returning exile was welcomed with enthusiasm, and was immediately joined by the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland. The Duke of York, who as Regent had been left in charge of the government, feared to resist him, and Lancaster advanced unopposed towards London with an army which increased at every march. London was entered without a blow, and the favourites of Richard who were discovered there put to death. After a brief halt in London, the Duke marched towards the West with a view of meeting Richard, whose speedy return from Ireland was naturally expected.

As soon as the King in Ireland heard of the landing of Lancaster he sent the Earl of Salisbury with a small force to Wales to collect an army, while he made preparations to embark the troops that he had with him at Dublin, having first added to them a considerable body of Irish recruits. The preparations for the embarkation of Richard's forces took a considerable time, and in the meantime the troops under Salisbury deserted and dispersed. When Richard landed in Wales, the forces that he brought with him also abandoned him on the second day after landing, and he himself was forced to seek a refuge in Conway Castle. Induced by the Earl of Northumberland to surrender, Richard was conveyed to London, where he was forced to abdicate, and the Duke of Lancaster became King of England, under the title of Henry IV.



The courts of France and Scotland refused to recognize Henry of Bolingbroke as King of England, and the sovereigns of those countries professed to believe that the truces concluded by them with England were terminated by the deposition of Richard. A French invasion was now threatened, but before the preparations assumed definite form it was warded off by the diplomacy of the English ruler, who restored the youthful widow of Richard to her father, King Charles VI., and sent back some of the jewels which had formed part of her dowry.

Soon after this the quarrel between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans introduced confusion into the French councils. No war was declared by the French Government, and no hostilities of grave moment occurred during Henry's reign, but French troops more than once harried the remaining English possessions in Guienne, and on the sea the sailors of the two countries constantly captured each other's vessels and made buccaneering descents on the towns and villages of the Channel coasts. In 1403 the French landed in the Isle of Wight, and pillaged several villages; in the same year some vessels from the ports of Brittany reduced Plymouth to ashes. In the following year a descent on Dartmouth was contemplated, but was finally directed to the Isle of Wight, where it pillaged and retired with some booty. In 1405 a French fleet of 140 vessels, with 12,000 troops, made a descent upon Milford, in Wales. The army was landed, captured several towns, and advanced to Carmarthen; but on the intelligence of

the approach of Henry with a considerable force, the troops were hurried back to the ships and hastily re-embarked with the plunder which had been collected.

During the glorious reign of Henry V. an offensive war, victoriously conducted in the enemy's territory, held England safe from harm ; and it was not till party strife and civil war tore England into jarring factions that a foreign invader again descended on our coasts.



## CHAPTER XII.

### INVASIONS OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

WITHIN two years of the battle of Castillon, which terminated the hundred years' war between France and England, was fought the battle of St. Albans, the first of the memorable civil contests between the Houses of York and Lancaster. But though open war on the Continent had ceased by the final expulsion of the English from all their acquisitions in France except Calais, hostilities were not entirely abandoned on the French side, and two years after the battle of St. Albans another French buccaneering descent was made on the English coast. This time Sandwich was the point selected. A surprise was effected, the town was harried, and with their plunder the assailants returned to their ships.

In 1459 the chiefs of the Yorkist party were forced to fly from England. The Earls of Warwick and Salisbury sought refuge at Calais, of which fortress Warwick was governor. Queen Margaret prepared a fleet and army at Sandwich, probably with a view to the reduction of Calais; but Warwick, hearing of its equipment, sent suddenly a body of troops under Dinham, who reached

Sandwich before daybreak, surprised the officers in their beds, gained over the soldiers and seamen, and brought back the King's ships to Calais.

The King's government became rapidly unpopular, and a strong Yorkist party was quickly re-organized. Invited by its leaders, Warwick and Salisbury in the following year landed at Sandwich with a small force of about 1,500 men. The cause of the Yorkists was the cause of the people, and this small force was quickly increased by large numbers of the men of Kent. The famous Kentish archers flocked in crowds to swell the Yorkist army, and ere its leaders reached Blackheath they had already 40,000 fighting men under their command. With this army was Edward, earl of March, the Duke of York's eldest son ; but the Duke himself was in Ireland, whither he had fled after the disaster of Ludlow, and whence he was now coming with a considerable body of troops to join his allies. Without awaiting his arrival, Warwick, passing through the metropolis, marched northwards to at once engage the Lancastrian forces. The two armies met on the 10th of July at Northampton : the Yorkists gained a decisive victory : Queen Margaret and her son fled to Scotland for refuge. Henry VI. was left prisoner in the hands of his enemies, and the Duke of York laid claim to the throne of England. But he was killed near Wakefield on the last day of the same year ; and it was only after his son had again heavily defeated the Lancastrians in the bloody battle of Towton, that he was crowned King of England, in 1461, under the title of Edward IV.



Edward saw the danger of the power of the great nobles of the country, and early in his reign took measures to curb it. These soon converted the most powerful of all the barons, the Earl of Warwick, from a staunch supporter to a bitter enemy. At one time Warwick was enabled to seize Edward and hold him prisoner; but the King soon made his escape, and, collecting a considerable force, compelled Warwick to fly for safety to the court of Louis XI. Here he found the exiled Queen Margaret, with whom he formed a league against their common enemy, King Edward. Louis XI., who feared that Edward might again raise the claim of the kings of England to the crown of France and renew the war which had so long raged between the two countries, fostered this alliance, and promised to aid the allies with troops and money in dethroning Edward. Preparations for an invasion of England were immediately commenced.

Edward, who had little care but for the amours to which he was fondly addicted, for hunting parties, and the adornment of his person, gave little heed to the warnings which reached him of the preparations being made by Warwick on the coast of France. He despised his enemies; he boastfully expressed a wish that they might land in England, so that he might at once meet and crush them. He, not unlike other rulers, contemned the warnings of those that preached the possibility of invasion, and laughed to scorn the alarmists.

But the invasion did come. Warwick, with the brother of the King, the Duke of Clarence, landed at

Dartmouth on the 13th September, 1470, and in eleven days afterwards the King of England was a fugitive from his dominions. King Edward had given to Lord Montagu, Warwick's brother, the command of the army raised to resist the invasion. The commander deserted to the enemy. The character of the Earl of Warwick, and the spirit of party then prevalent in England, soon brought 60,000 men under the standard of their former queen. The invading army increased as it advanced, and Edward, after narrowly escaping capture, was fain to cross the sea and seek refuge with his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy. Henry VI. was taken from the Tower, where he had been held prisoner, and replaced upon the throne.

For a few months Warwick, acting for the nominal king, was the real ruler of the realm. Queen Margaret had not accompanied him to England : she had remained in France organizing an army of Lancastrian refugees round a nucleus of some auxiliary troops given to her by King Louis. Apparently she did not place full confidence in Warwick, and postponed her coming to England until she could appear there at the head of such a force as would ensure to her the independent exercise of the royal authority. The organization of her army and her naval preparations were complete early in 1471, but unfavourable weather hindered her from making good her landing from the middle of March till the 14th April, and on that very day her chief supporter and partisan was overthrown and slain by Edward. He had obtained from his brother-in-law, the Duke of Bur-



gundy, the loan of a small force of 2,000 men. These were embarked at Flushing towards the middle of March, on four large ships and fourteen transports. Setting sail on the 11th of that month, on the following day Edward was with his flotilla off the coast of Norfolk. He made a feint towards Cromer, but, finding circumstances there unfavourable for landing, stood out again and ran to the northward. At Ravenspur, where Henry of Bolingbroke had landed when he came to dethrone Richard II. and found the dynasty of Lancaster, Edward disembarked his troops without opposition. He seems to have carried the example of Henry before his eyes. Similarly, on landing, he disclaimed all intent upon the crown, and asserted that he had merely come to seek his paternal inheritance. These fair professions allowed him to march without resistance into the city of York. He was loud here in his avowals of allegiance to the reigning sovereign, and his soldiery shouted in every village and town they entered, "Long live King Henry!"

• The lieutenants of Warwick in Yorkshire hesitated as to what reception they should afford to a powerful nobleman who returned to his native country so full of loyalty to the sovereign under whom they acted. While they pondered, Edward marched. The Yorkist cause was extremely popular; the whole of popular literature and of popular song had long been enlisted on its side. As Edward advanced on his southward route, many flocked to join him, and by the time he reached Nottingham he had several thousand men under his command. In modern times such recruits, hastily drawn together,

would have been devoid of discipline, organization, arms, and ammunition ; they would have been not only worthless, but absolutely pernicious to the cause they sought to aid : but in the fifteenth century every Englishman was well skilled in the use of a weapon and inured to warfare ; every landed proprietor brought a small army, well exercised, in his train ; and every yeoman was a warrior.

At Nottingham Edward found himself at the head of so strong a force that he could throw off disguise, and began to assume the royal title. Warwick attempted to concentrate an army at Coventry. Had this force remained staunch, it would have been impossible for the invader, leaving this hostile army on his flank and rear, to move upon London. But the Duke of Clarence, who possibly had been privy to Edward's design before the latter left Holland, deserted to the aid of his brother with a large body of troops which he had been commissioned to levy by Henry VI.

This desertion weakened Warwick's army, and strengthened Edward's both morally and physically. His great object was to secure London, where he had numerous partisans, and where 24,000 men-at-arms and 30,000 archers, furnished by the burghers of the city, could throw an enormous weight into the scale of civil war. He pushed his march accordingly as rapidly as possible, as eager perhaps to secure the moral triumph of the occupation of the metropolis as the alliance of the armed citizens. Warwick had entrusted to his brother the Archbishop of York the command in London ; but



the citizens were enthusiastic for the Yorkist cause, and the popular feeling within, and the rapid arrival of Edward with an unbroken army without the walls, made the prelate waver in his allegiance to the House of Lancaster. Negotiations were opened, which resulted in the Yorkists being admitted into the city, and Henry VI. being sent back to his former prison in the Tower.

Edward did not remain in London a moment longer than was necessary to re-organize his army, now swelled by large reinforcements from the citizens, who were in those days considered to form the most important military force in the kingdom ; and to collect a considerable supply of artillery, the value of which he appreciated, although that arm was still most imperfectly developed. On the second day after occupying the city, Edward marched again northward to encounter Warwick, who with the forces he had preserved had moved southward as far as Barnet. On the next day, Easter Sunday 1471, the battle of Barnet was fought. The result was the complete defeat of Warwick's army, and the death of Warwick and of his brother the Earl of Montagu.

On the very day that the battle of Barnet was fought, Queen Margaret, with her son Edward and the troops she had collected in France, succeeded in making good her landing at Weymouth. In this neighbourhood she had many partisans, and she overran the counties of Devon and Somerset. To aid her enterprise a general movement was being made by the Lancastrian party. The Earl of Pembroke had collected a force in Wales, which was intended to unite with the army of the Queen and to

make a common advance on London. Another Lancastrian leader had equipped a fleet and a force beyond the seas, and at the same time was to attack the Thames and London. But the Lancastrian plan of campaign was disjointed, and gave Edward the opportunity of crushing his adversaries while separated in isolated detachments. To do so immediately after the battle of Barnet, he marched rapidly westwards from London. The Severn flowed between the armies of the Queen and Pembroke. To sever their communications Edward reinforced the Yorkist garrison of Gloucester, and fortified the bridge there so as to prevent the Lancastrians from crossing the river at that town. Queen Margaret, seeking to join with Pembroke, moved upon Tewkesbury, whence she hoped to be able to form a junction with her ally, but Edward determined to force her to battle before she crossed the river, and moved upon Tewkesbury with his whole force. On the news of his approach the Queen's army, which was numerically inferior, intrenched itself in a strong position at the back of the town. Edward immediately attacked, and here his London artillerymen did him good service. With a long and heavy cannonade they overpowered the feeble artillery which the Lancastrians could bring into action against them. In vain the Duke of Somerset, with some of the Queen's troops, charged forward to silence the batteries. The assault was repulsed, and Edward's archers pushed close up to the enemy's position and poured heavy showers of arrows into the defenders' lines. Under cover of their fire, two columns of attack were formed, one



led by the Duke of Gloucester, the other by Edward in person. Both succeeded in their attack, forced their way into the intrenchments, and the Lancastrians fled in panic. They were pursued with heavy loss and completely routed. The Queen was taken, and her son was killed. Eighteen days afterwards Edward made a triumphal entry into London, and King Henry VI. died in the Tower.

But between the battle of Tewkesbury and the entry of Edward into London another invasion had taken place. The Bastard of Falconberg, sailing up the Thames in King Henry's name, had sought to liberate the imprisoned King from the Tower. The Londoners resisted his attack stoutly : but he forced his way into the city, and fought a bloody battle in the streets. In this he was worsted and forced to retire, but was preparing a fresh assault when Edward's return with the army victorious at Tewkesbury was reported to him. He then withdrew to Blackwall, where he had left his ships, and as soon as Henry's death was known, submitted to King Edward, and purchased pardon by giving up his ships.

No further invasion occurred during the reign of Edward IV., for we may exclude from notice a slight and unsuccessful attempt made in Cornwall by the Earl of Oxford in 1473.

The reports of the murder of the two young sons of Edward IV. by Richard III. in the Tower inflamed the hatred of a portion of the Yorkist party against Richard. These were eagerly aided by the remaining

Lancastrians, and a common design was formed to bring back to England the Earl of Richmond, who was now regarded as the head of the Lancastrian party, and had sought refuge with the Duke of Brittany.

The first attempt at invasion made by the Earl of Richmond was unsuccessful. The forces he had collected to bring across the Channel and to aid the risings organized in various parts of the country were delayed by contrary winds ; and when at last they approached the Devonshire coast, it was deemed imprudent to attempt a landing on account of insufficiency of force, as the risings in England had been suppressed. Richmond accordingly returned to Brittany. In the following year, however, he again made preparations to invade the island. King Richard was aware of these preparations and he set himself with great vigour to frustrate them, But he was extremely unpopular with his subjects : he could not obtain freely the pecuniary means to carry on a war, and had to have recourse to benevolences in order to raise money.

This despotic taxation alienated the English still more from him : but it gave Richard the means of raising a considerable force, with which he took post at the central position of Nottingham. But his funds arbitrarily raised do not seem to have been sufficient to maintain his fleet in full force upon the sea ; and some of the chroniclers say that after the miscarriage of Richmond's first attempt, and the death of the Duke of Buckingham, he laid up at least the larger portion of his vessels.

Henry of Richmond obtained from France, in July



1485, a small body of men, about 2,000 strong. Philip de Commynes, who saw this force, declared the men the worst he ever beheld, and undeserving the name of soldiers. They were the scum of the inhabitants of France, the sweepings of gaols, hospitals, and the streets, and were apparently sent to England much as in former times our forefathers sent men to America, to the hulks, or to Botany Bay.

On Sunday, July 31st, 1485, Henry Tudor, with this ill-favoured body, set sail from Harfleur, and on Saturday, the 6th August, arrived at Milford Haven. Here he landed without opposition. He marched through Wales, by way of Haverfordwest, Cardigan, Newtown, and Welshpool, to Shrewsbury. As his object must have been as speedily as possible to obtain possession of London, it is at first surprising that he should have taken this indirect road. But he had weighty reasons. He was of Welsh name and extraction, claimed to be descended from the ancient Celtic kings, had many relations and great interest there, and the further he passed through the Principality the more strength would he gain. It is even asserted that between the failure of his first expedition and the preparations for his second, he travelled secretly in Wales to organize a party and foster alliances.

He had also another reason: the Severn was the strong military line for English defence against the West: it was possible that Richard's troops might hold the river, and the Lancastrians would more easily command a passage at Shrewsbury than either at Bristol, Chepstow,

Gloucester, Worcester, Bewdley, or Bridgnorth. The powerful northern family of the Stanleys was also favourable to him, and a northerly march would facilitate his junction with their troops before the issue of a final battle.

At first he was refused admission into the fortress of Shrewsbury, but the commandant was ultimately persuaded to open the gates, and the passage of the Severn was gained without a blow being struck.

Richard, uncertain where the descent would be made, kept his head-quarters at Nottingham. He sent messages to the gentlemen on the Welsh border whom he believed to be faithful to him, to detain and oppose the Earl by every possible means if he should pass their way. He warned his distant friends to be in readiness, and stationed post-horses at every twenty miles to facilitate the transmission of intelligence.

As Henry marched with expedition, the first certain news that Richard obtained was that the Welsh gentry had not only suffered him to pass unmolested, but even favoured his pretensions, and that he was arrived without hindrance at Shrewsbury. This caused Richard to perceive that some at least of those whom he thought friends were forsaking him, but he still trusted to collect a sufficient army. He sent hurriedly for the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, and the Earl of Northumberland to join him, and ordered Sir Robert Brackenbury, lieutenant of the Tower, to bring Sir Thomas Boucher and Sir Walter Hungerford, with all the forces they could instantly muster ; for, as he thought that Richmond



would pursue his way to London by the main road, which then ran along the Watling Street, he resolved to bar the way.

The uncertainty of the point where Richmond would land and the rapidity of his progress made it impossible for Richard to concentrate all his forces. His friends were necessarily scattered, as he could not know where to assemble them. Norfolk, Surrey, and Brackenbury probably joined him at his camp at Stapleton the day before the great battle, and Northumberland on the very field. Fenn gives us a curious letter from the Duke of Norfolk to Sir John Paston, sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, which must have been written only a few days before Bosworth, in which he tells that the enemy was landed, that the King would march on Friday, August 16th, and that he himself should rest the same night at Bury St. Edmunds on his way to the army. He desires the sheriff to meet him at Bury with the men he had promised the King, and bring besides as large a company of tall men as he could procure, dressed in jackets of the Duke's livery, and he would reimburse his expense when they met.

Henry made no halt at Shrewsbury : he wisely judged that lingering would on the one hand weaken the spirit of enterprise and diminish his army, and on the other hand would give Richard time to concentrate more troops.

Leaving Shrewsbury, he camped near Newport, where Sir Gilbert Talbot, sheriff of Shropshire, uncle and guardian to the Earl of Shrewsbury, a minor, joined him with 2,000 men.

He next arrived at Stafford, where he was met by Sir William Stanley, in a private interview, who came not more on his own account than on account of his brother Lord Stanley, who durst not appear himself, as his son was retained by Richard as a hostage. He then moved upon Lichfield, which the royal advanced troops evacuated on his approach.

The King, hearing that Henry was at Lichfield, marshalled the troops he had with him in the market-place of Nottingham on the 16th August, and marched them in exact order that day to Leicester. They chiefly consisted of foot, separated into two divisions. The first marched five in a rank, then the baggage, and next the King himself, attended by his body-guard. The second division, also five abreast, followed. The horse were formed into two wings, which covered the centre. In the north-gate street of Leicester there stood, till a few years ago, a large house formerly known as the Blue Boar Inn; hence an adjoining street now called Blubber Lane derives its name. In one of the apartments of this hostelry Richard slept. On the 17th he marched out of Leicester, expecting to meet the enemy at Hinckley; but not finding him, he turned on the 18th to the right, and encamped at a place called the Bradshaws, near Stapleton, about three miles south of the market town of Bosworth. The situation of his camp was on an eminence a mile and a half east of Bosworth Field, and two miles from the top of Anyon Hill, the scene of the action.

Henry, having rested one day at Lichfield, moved on



Tamworth. In his march he was joined by Hungerford and Boucher, who, although ordered to attend Richard, had deserted Brackenbury, their leader; as did also on the following day, August 19th, several other knights. On the 20th August he reached Atherstone, where he had a private interview with Lord Stanley, and the plan of battle was arranged, by which the corps of both Lord Stanley and Sir William Stanley, which had joined Richard's army, were to remain neutral or desert in the action. The Stanleys then rejoined their corps, which were encamped on either flank of the King's army.

On the following day, the 21st, Henry moved from Atherstone to within a mile of Anyon Hill. It is extraordinary, unless Richard—a proved commander of great military skill—had strong motives to avoid battle, that he permitted his adversary to move forward unassailed. Henry had to cross Wetherby Bridge, and afterwards the small rivulet of the Tweed. At both these points he might have been delayed, if not driven back, even by an advanced guard; but the system of outposts seems not to have been understood or observed in Richard's army. The result of this neglect was, that Henry was able to take up an excellent position in a field named the Whitemars, where his left and rear were secured by a brook, and his right by a swamp.

We now approach the consideration of one of the most important days in British annals—Monday, 22nd August, 1485, which answers to the 2nd September, New Style. This was the day of the decisive battle in the Wars of the Roses. English blood had flowed so

freely by the sword or the axe during this contest for thirty years, that the royal family was almost extinct, the nobility extirpated, and the nation grievously thinned. Though the united forces of the armies brought into action at Bosworth did not exceed 28,000 men, yet there had not been a battle since that of Hastings, 419 years before, of such importance: and as the importance of Hastings consisted in the fall of Harold, so did that of Bosworth in the fall of Richard.

But in an important respect the two battles were widely different. William the Conqueror, a foreign invader, struck down in fair fight Harold, the leader of the best army of an united country. Richard was overthrown not so much by the army of the invader as by the treachery of some of his own officers. The success of the invasion of Henry VII. was due to domestic faction much more than to the military power of the invader.

On the morning of the 22nd, in the same manner as war was conducted in the contests of the Roses, neither side strove to take any advantage or surprise the other. Both marshalled their forces leisurely, and so unwatched was the passage between the two armies, that Lord Stanley, the leader of one of Richard's divisions, privately visited Henry's army, and aided him to form his troops.

Both armies were similarly drawn up: each was in two lines, the bowmen in front, the bill-men in rear, and the horse formed the wings. The principal officers were in armour—that is, each wore a coat of mail and a



helmet; and on the helmet carried his crest: that of the King himself was a crown. Every soldier carried a sword for close combat: in addition the horsemen had lances; and the foot soldiers, some bows, some bills, some battle-axes. There seems reason to believe that Richard had some artillery which cannonaded the hostile lines, but with very little effect. King Richard's army took up a defensive position on Anyon Hill. Henry's advanced to the attack. As they approached each other, both sides commenced the action with showers of arrows; but as the assailants still continued to advance, the front lines were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand contest. While this swayed backwards and forwards, the greater strength of Richard's army and its longer line gave it the opportunity of outflanking that of Henry; but when this movement was being attempted, Lord Stanley deserted with his command from the left of the King's line to the right of Henry, and so not only restored the balance of the fight, but threw great weight into the scale for Richmond.

Still the contest endured: and about eleven o'clock, after it had continued about an hour, no decisive result had been obtained, although it would seem that Richard's men did not fight so boldly or willingly as those of his opponent's, and that it was necessary for their officers to expose themselves much for the sake of example. Certain it is that, thus early, Norfolk, Surrey, and several other high officers on the royal side had fallen. But as yet only the front line of either army had been engaged, and not much ground had been lost or gained.

Still, at this time it was necessary for Richard to take measures to reinforce his front line; and while he was engaged in so doing, he was informed that Richmond was posted on the left rear of his own army with a small escort.

Knowing that the death of Henry would at once frustrate the invasion, Richard, collecting a few knights, boldly galloped round the right flank of his own army, and dashed straight upon Henry. With his own hand he cleft the head of Sir William Brandon, the standard-bearer, and seizing from him the red dragon of Cadwallader, cast it on the ground. Henry's position was dangerous: those that were with him threw themselves in the way of Richard's onset, but it seemed as if Richard's attack would reach him, when Sir William Stanley, who with 3,000 men covered the right flank of the royal army, suddenly attacked Richard in rear. Surrounded by overwhelming forces, Richard struggled bravely. Quarter was neither asked nor given, and under the blows of many swords the King was beaten to the earth and slain. The death of Richard was quickly followed by the retreat of his army, and the enemy was so close that this retreat was rapidly turned into flight. The remnants of the royalist force fled in several directions, but chiefly towards Stoke, savagely pursued by the victors. On the field of battle the helmet of Richard was found: Sir William Stanley placed it on Richmond's brow, and the victorious soldiery with loud shouts hailed their leader as Henry king of England—the first time since the Norman Conquest that a king of England



had been slain in battle, and his crown transferred to an invader.

But the defeat of Bosworth and the consequent coronation of Henry VII. did not altogether hinder the Yorkist party from again bidding for the throne, and again invading England. The Earl of Warwick, the eldest son of the late Duke of Clarence, was held by Henry prisoner in the Tower ; but at Oxford there was a young student of the name of Lambert Simnel, pupil to a priest, Sir Richard Simond, and he was of similar years and appearance to the son of the Duke of Clarence. Instigated by Simond, this youth assumed to be the Earl of Warwick, who, it was bruited abroad, had escaped from the Tower.

Simond and Simnel sailed to Ireland, where their cause was eagerly embraced by the nobility and gentry of that country, which had always strongly favoured the House of York. Strengthened by the adhesion of the Irish, the friends of Simnel attempted to organize in his favour a rising in England, and also sent for aid to Margaret, the Duchess of Burgundy, who was the sister of the late Edward IV. It was in vain that the real Earl of Warwick was publicly shown in the streets of London. The Earl of Lincoln and Elizabeth the sister of Edward IV., either from a belief in Simond's assertion, or through a desire to shake the crown of Henry, espoused the cause of Simnel.

By the aid of Margaret, the Earl of Lincoln collected in Flanders a force of 2,000 Germans, with which, in the early days of 1487, he sailed to Ireland, and at Dublin

caused Simnel to be proclaimed and crowned in solemn fashion King of England. A large number of Irish joined themselves to the German troops in Dublin. With the whole force Simnel and the Earl of Lincoln sailed to England, and disembarked at Fowdrie, near Lancaster, where they trusted to obtain aid from Sir Thomas Broughton, a Yorkist partisan.

Henry, having been informed of the intended invasion, had concentrated a large force in the central position of Coventry, whence he soon moved to Nottingham. The Earl of Lincoln moved into Yorkshire, trusting by respecting the property of the people of the country to gain followers. But few joined him, and his circuitous march gave time for Henry to be joined by many men of Shropshire and the adjoining counties. Lincoln then determined to force on a battle, and marched from York towards Newark. But Henry, well informed of his movements, seized Newark before his arrival, and, advancing three miles further, pitched his camp for the night.

That day, the 15th June, Lincoln occupied Stoke. The following morning the King attacked. The Germans in the battle were found fully equal to the English, but their allies, the Irish, being without defensive armour, were rapidly worsted. Still the battle was long and severe, but finally the greater numbers of the English triumphed : nearly all the insurrectionary leaders were slain, the invading army driven off the field in flight, and Simnel himself taken prisoner.

Again, in 1495, another pretender to the crown was



set up, chiefly by the aid of Margaret of Burgundy, in the person of Perkin Warbeck, who declared himself to be the younger son of Edward IV., and to have escaped from the Tower at the time of the murder of his brother.

He set sail from Flanders with such forces as he could collect, and appeared off the coast of Kent, in the neighbourhood of Deal. A detachment was sent ashore to sound the feelings of the inhabitants, but these stood firm to Henry, and, having enticed the small force of invaders some distance from their ships, then fell upon them with superior numbers, and either slew or captured all. The King, having heard of the landing in Kent, was about to move into that county, but, quickly informed of its failure, contented himself with sending messages of thanks to the men of Kent; and, as he foresaw further attempts of the same kind, made arrangements for the erection and watching of beacons.

Perkin Warbeck, discomfited on the coast of Kent, sailed to Ireland. There plenty were willing to join him, but their services were valueless for a contest with the well-armed yeomen and skilful archers of England, as the Irish were almost totally destitute of either defensive or offensive armament. He then went to Scotland, whence he was forced to retire on the conclusion of a peace with England, and returned to Ireland, with a view of again seeking refuge at the court of Burgundy.

The people of Cornwall were then in a state of grievous discontent with the government of Henry, on

account of the taxes levied for the payment of the expenses of the war with Scotland. They had already risen once in rebellion, and had been only put down by a defeat on Blackheath, within four miles of the walls of London. They were now again ripe for rebellion. Of this Warbeck heard while he was in Ireland. He set sail for Cornwall with only four small ships and about 120 men, and in September 1497 landed on the southern coast of the county. He immediately marched to Bodmin, where he was joined by people of the county, who increased his force to 3,000 men. Here he issued proclamations and assumed the style of Richard IV.

Anxious to secure a firmer footing in the country, he quickly marched to Exeter and laid siege to that city. He had no artillery to breach the walls, but attempted to burst in the gates by casting stones against them, hammering them with iron bars, and finally by kindling fire under them. The citizens, to delay him, kindled large fires inside the gates, which impeded ingress even after the gates were destroyed, and hastened to throw up trenches and ramparts to cover the gateways. Repulsed from these points, the besieger attempted to carry the walls by escalade, but was repulsed with the loss of over 200 men. The King, informed of the siege of Exeter, hastened thither, sending before him Lord Daubeney with bands of light horsemen to announce his approach. On the news of the proximity of the royal army, Warbeck raised the siege and moved to Taunton, where, on the 20th September, he mustered his forces as if to give battle. But many of his troops



deserted him, and in the night he himself fled to the sanctuary of Bewdley, near Southampton. Here he was quickly surrounded by the royal horsemen, to whom he surrendered himself. He was taken to the Tower, and after several attempts to escape was finally executed at Tyburn. With his flight from Taunton terminated the last invasion of England due to the great civil wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster.

When war broke out between Henry VII. and Louis XII., the superior naval power and seamanship of the English enabled the English Lord High Admiral to blockade the French fleet of thirty-nine sail in Brest harbour, where it was protected by formidable batteries thrown up on the shore. A rash attempt on the part of the English to force the entrance to the harbour was repulsed, and the Lord High Admiral killed. The English fleet returned to Portsmouth for further orders. No sooner was the blockade of Brest raised than a few vessels, commanded by Prior Jehan, a Knight of Rhodes—who had formerly been engaged with galleys on the coast of Barbary to protect his co-religionists, and was now in the French service—stealing along the coasts of Normandy, suddenly swept across the Channel, made a plundering descent on the coast of Sussex, burnt a few cottages, and so effected an invasion which would be barely worth mention but for the prominence sometimes given to it by French writers. The gentlemen of Sussex, taking arms, drove back Prior Jehan to his galleys, and very shortly a new Lord High Admiral was

appointed. The English navy scoured the Channel, and for the remainder of the period of active operations secured the English coasts from harm by the offensive policy of penning the French fleet within its own ports. But in the early spring of the following year, before the English fleet had apparently taken the sea, Prior Jehan, with his galleys charged with basilisks and other artillery, again descended on the coast of Sussex. His raid was made in the night season, at a point then known as the poor fishing village of Brighthelmstone, now the great town of Brighton. The village was burnt, and such goods as could be readily removed taken away. But when the people began to gather on the firing of the beacons, Prior Jehan sounded his trumpet to call his men on board. By this time it was day, and some archers who had kept watch were now able to see to aim. They followed Jehan on his retreat to the sea, and shot so fast that they wounded many of his men, and himself in the eye with an arrow. The English, in revenge for this descent, burnt one-and-twenty towns and villages on the French coast of the Channel.

Again, in 1545, when hostilities were being carried on between Henry VIII. and Francis I. of France, a large French fleet of 200 ships, with twenty-six galleys, arrived on the coast of Sussex. Some of the troops that the fleet convoyed were put ashore to spoil and plunder the country, but the beacons were fired, and the people of the county assembled so quickly that the French were forced to fly with considerable loss, and after inflicting only insignificant damage. The French



fleet then made for the Isle of Wight, and cast anchor off St. Helen's Point, whence sixteen galleys were daily sent to the very mouth of Portsmouth harbour. On the 20th July the English fleet, which was lying in Portsmouth harbour, set out to engage the French fleet, but in leaving harbour the *Marie Rôse*, a large vessel with 400 soldiers on board, having the ports open, which were very low, and being overladen with ordnance, suddenly sank. This disaster seems to have had the effect of delaying the expedition, and on the following day 2,000 Frenchmen landed on the Isle of Wight, but were driven off by the people of the island with great loss.

The French fleet did not, however, retire, and orders were sent for the men of Hampshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and the adjoining counties, to come with all speed to encounter the enemy. These hastened to the threatened spot in large numbers, well equipped with arms, victuals, and weapons, so that King Henry was able to strongly garrison the Isle of Wight and to dispose large numbers of men all along the coast. The French, hearing of these preparations from some fishermen whom they captured, drew off along the Sussex coast, and made an attempt to land in Sussex. This was again beaten off, and then the French fleet retired and made no further attack.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE ARMADA.

[AUTHORITIES.—Report on Internal Defence, from State Paper Office ; Hakluyt, Stowe, Murdin, Rapin, Motley, Froude.]

THE next invasion which threatened England was that which Philip, king of Spain, undertook against Elizabeth. From the establishment of the Norman conquerors up to the time of the Armada no invader had attempted the subjugation of our country. The buccaneers who had ever and anon swept down on the villages and towns that lie along the coast, had come to plunder, not to subdue, and had usually hurried away with what booty they could snatch on the first appearance of any hostile force.

The invaders who had marched into the country, threatened the metropolis, and frequently overthrown the reigning dynasty, were not foreign conquerors. They were generally invited to undertake their expeditions by a political party within the country anxious for their success, and were always sure of internal support from one or other of the great political parties which were continually striving for supremacy in the country.

At the time of the Spanish attempt the case was different. The cause of the Spanish king was indeed



asserted to be the cause of the Catholic Church, and the large community of Catholic Englishmen were urged to aid the invaders against the established government of the realm. But the design of Philip was not confined to a restoration of the Catholic faith in England: his intention was to grasp the English crown and lower England to being a subdued dependency of Spain. This the English Catholics well knew, and the great majority were as eager to defeat the Spaniards and to maintain the independence of the country, and to shed their blood in their country's cause, as were the fiercest professors of the Reformed religion. A very small minority of Catholics were indeed desirous of the triumph of their creed at the cost of their country, but these were mostly dreamy devotees, who spent their lives in penance and fasting in Catholic seminaries. The Catholic nobles and the Catholic gentry, the men who could summon followers and take a place in battle within the island, were as antagonistic to the Spanish conquest as the members of Elizabeth's Council. The Catholic English soldiers who would have wished to see England carried by the Spaniards were fighting in the Low Countries in Parma's army, or mustering for embarkation on the wharves of Lisbon or Corunna. For all practical purposes of war England was united, and it was to the united strength of the nation that the Spanish sovereign threw down the gauntlet.

The event was not unconnected with the fortunes of other countries, nor with the general fate of Europe. But the civil strife south of the Channel was so evenly

balanced between the League and the Protestants, that France remained a neutral spectator. The devious policy of Elizabeth had alienated the United Provinces: the notorious ambition of Philip held the King of Scotland inactive: and thus, without allies and without extraneous aid, the Queen of the island and the King of the peninsula were left to fight their battle single-handed.

For eight years before the Armada sailed preparations had been made in the peninsula for the expedition. For eight years men in England aware of these preparations had constantly expected the assault. But it was long deferred, as were the proper preparations for meeting it. Philip was unwilling to strike till his claim to the English crown was recognized by Sixtus V. The Pope was unwilling to sanction the enormous increment of power which the subjection of England would bring to Spain, as long as there glimmered any hope of the conversion of James of Scotland to the true faith. The avarice of Elizabeth was only too ready to clutch any plea for postponing the costs or deferring the expenses of warlike preparations. But careful as Elizabeth was of spending money, England during eight years of warning had done much against the hour of trial, and when the time of trouble came, though not completely ready, was better armed than was believed abroad.

In 1587, the Jesuits, who had been the constant advocates of the expedition, prevailed in the councils of St. Peter's and Madrid. Definite orders were issued for the Armada to make ready to sail, from the western



ports of the peninsula to the Low Countries, where it was to embark the army of the Duke of Parma, and convoy it across the Channel. But the sailing of the fleet was delayed beyond the winter, partly through the gallant action of Drake, who, sailing down to the ports of preparation, boldly attacked and destroyed some of the vessels, partly through the death of the intended commander and the time requisite for his successor to master the details of the service. Early in 1588, however, the Armada sailed, and Europe at large firmly believed in its certain success.

On the Continent it was believed that thirty years of peace had tamed the once warlike English nation, and that the people had become so wedded to quiet that they would lack the vigour to defend their homes. It was assuredly supposed that, even if the will were still existent, the English soldier had of late had no opportunity to acquire skill or experience in war. Since an English army had fought in France the progress of military science had rendered the famous weapon of the English yeoman, the longbow, if not obsolete, at least indecisive. Arquebuses, calivers, and ordnance, not yew-tree shafts, now turned the tide of battles. London was an open town, and there was no fortress to check even a detachment of an invading army. On the sea the Englishman was formidable; as a corsair he had plundered every Catholic coast, and pillaged many a Catholic merchantman. But far and wide through Europe it was confidently believed that if the naval power could be pierced or dodged, and a well-trained

army of Spanish legionaries be planted on the English shore, it must sweep away like chaff the raw militia hurried together to defend the metropolis, and in a few days enter London.

How far these views in some respects were correct it is impossible of course to even guess. Patriotic English writers have insinuated that, had the Armada escaped the English fleet, the soldiery of Parma would have fared as badly at the hands of Leicester as did the galleons of Sidonia at those of Drake. Every historian is inclined to regard the ground upon which he himself was born as holy. But the examples of well-disciplined and carefully trained troops being overthrown and crushed by raw levies do not occur so frequently in military history as to warrant our considering them the general rule. In some respects, however, our forefathers were certainly better prepared than they obtained popular credit for. More clear-sighted than Englishmen of the present generation have shown themselves on more than one occasion, although not involved in war themselves, they followed step by step the progress of military science. The new weapons had been introduced, and for the last eight years the musters had been to a certain extent trained to their use. Many thousands of Englishmen had visited continental theatres of war, had served in the armies of foreigners, and had acquired a practical knowledge of the military profession. In Ireland there had been a constant school for minor operations: and the youth of the coasts were full well accustomed to savage contests with Catholic privateers or foreign fishermen.



Already in the reign of Edward VI. lieutenants of counties had been appointed. The duties of these officers were to make musters periodically of the men liable to bear arms in each county, and to ascertain that the arms were of modern service. But while the prospect of invasion was distant, these duties seem to have been but languidly conducted. When, however, the danger became imminent in 1586, general directions were issued to the lord-lieutenants of the maritime counties requiring them to issue orders to the different captains of their lieutenancy to meet at appointed places on or before the 20th March, to make up their musters of men and arms. In 1587 these instructions were followed by others directing the lord-lieutenants of all counties to complete their musters, and to have them fully accoutred and ready to be placed in array and to march at the shortest notice. Instructions were also given to the commanders of the various shires as to the posts which were to be occupied, and how these posts were to be covered by batteries, forts, and stakes ; what stations were to be assigned to batteries and to field-pieces ; the most suitable points for powder magazines and places of rendezvous ; the fords and roads which were to be prepared to facilitate concentration, and the points where barricades were to be thrown up to check the progress of the invader. A proper number of pioneers were to be raised in every shire to throw up earthworks : beacons were to be erected on the coast, and it was arranged that each of these when fired should call a certain number of the neighbouring militia

to a predetermined point: every market town was required to provide a mounted postman, every parish a foot post, to carry information of the enemy's approach, and the towns and counties were bound to provide adequate stores of clothing, ammunition, and necessaries.

Such were the measures taken beforehand to ensure what in modern terms might be called the effective mobilization of the defensive force of the realm. To those who have studied the wonderful machinery of Prussian military organization they may appear crude, but they were as perfect as the times would admit; and we who possess no plan of mobilization at all cannot but look back with envy on the days of Elizabeth. The soldiers arrayed for battle by these means were doubtless of little military worth, but this was due to the measures taken for the organization, not for the mobilization, of the defensive force. The old feudal law which divided the country into 60,000 knights' fees and gave the king an army of 60,000 men for forty days in a year without expense, had long been obsolete. Kings had long ago become distrustful of such a precarious military power, and subjects had been only too ready to exchange personal service for pecuniary aid. The soldiers who under the Plantagenets had carried the English standards to Paris and the walls of Orleans, and still more lately garrisoned Flushing and Sluys, were all paid men. But to preserve internal peace and to resist the invasion of his country, every Englishman was still bound to provide a proper quantity of arms and to take his place in array. But as the longbow came to be laid aside and



expensive and complicated fire-arms introduced, it was soon found that the yeoman's time and yeoman's life was all he could give in his country's cause, and the cost of his weapons and ammunition was perforce defrayed by local taxation. Here was an element of weakness. The expenses of each district were proportionate to the number of men placed in the field, and it consequently became the interest of the ratepayers to reduce the number of fighting-men to as low a standard as possible. The men themselves, though willing to risk their lives in battle, were naturally averse to spare time for preparation; and as the expense of training was considerable, it appears that the local authorities, and the constables in their employ, not unfrequently winked at absences from muster. It was only with difficulty, and after strong remonstrances from the central government, that even during the excitement of the pending Armada men in some parts of England were induced to undergo fifteen days' drill; and from the differences in the muster-rolls made between trained and able men, we may safely argue that this amount of military exercise was the exception rather than the rule. With an infantry so inexperienced, partly unaccustomed to the use of a new weapon, partly equipped in motley fashion with bows, bills, or pikes, how hopeless would it have been to have encountered, even with equal numbers in pitched battle, the famous arquebusiers of Parma or the solid pikemen of Spain! And if the infantry was not worthy of high respect, the cavalry was contemptible. Knights of the feudal times had wholly disappeared. The horsemen

who were to watch the enemy that landed from the Armada were not provided or equipped by even a responsible authority. They were scraped together by the contributions of justices, ecclesiastics, and country gentlemen, mounted on animals which ranged through all the varieties of unimproved horseflesh, from the New Forest pony to the shaggy drone raised in the marshes of Lincolnshire. This cavalry must have been wholly unsuited to act in masses, or to have even formed in order of battle. Indeed, it does not seem to have been so intended except in a very minor degree. Only about one-tenth of the total force was armed with lances, which betokened a close engagement; the remainder, equipped either with petronels or pistolets, seem to have been only expected to perform the duties of light cavalry, and in this capacity a knowledge of locality might have made each band valuable as long as its action was confined to its own shire.

The total number of troops collected to defend the country amounted to a force of nearly 133,000 men. The army which might descend on the coast consisted of 30,000 men whom the Duke of Parma had prepared in the Low Countries, and of a little over 20,000 men who were to be transported from Spain by the Armada itself. So great is the power of numbers in the field of battle, that could the whole force of England have been concentrated against the 50,000 well-trained troops of Spain at one moment, even taking into consideration all the disadvantages of inexperience and want of discipline, the defeat of the English might not have been certain.



But this could not be. It was impossible to sacrifice the whole country for the sake of one particular point: the men of Devon or of Yorkshire could not be expected to consent that their orchards, cornfields, and homesteads should be sacrificed without a blow, so that the merchants' offices and wharves of London should be covered from hurt. It was necessary to watch the whole coast, from Mount's Bay to Newcastle. The musters of the maritime counties must necessarily remain within their own shires, and within hail of their own beacons, till the point of the enemy's landing was declared. A central army of not quite 30,000 was indeed collected at Tilbury from the musters of the midland counties, to watch the Thames and defend the capital; but had the Spaniards landed on the coasts of Essex, Kent, or Sussex, the most rapid forced marches could hardly have brought more than 20,000 additional men to join with it for the decisive battle in front of London, even had the orders of the light horse to destroy all crops and drive off all cattle in front of the advancing enemy been most successfully and satisfactorily carried out.

What impartial man can doubt what would have been the result of an encounter between 50,000 Spanish troops, then the best in the world, guided by the genius of Parma, and an equal number of raw English militia commanded by Leicester? The whole history of our nation warrants the belief that the English would have fought recklessly, bravely, and fiercely; that they would have died sternly and unflinchingly beneath the arquebuses and pikes of the invader, and that the Spaniard would

have only gained the Tower or occupied London Bridge after heavy losses and with diminished numbers ; but the most sanguine Englishman must rejoice that the test was not applied, and that the fate of the country was decided on the stormy waters of the Channel instead of on the lowlands of Essex or the hills beside Blackheath.

The English fleet, although starved by the parsimony of Elizabeth, had not been neglected. The able administration of Sir John Hawkins had made the ships the stoutest, most seaworthy, and most rapid of manœuvre in the world. The privateering expeditions of Drake and his brother corsairs had taught English mariners both seamanship and the conduct of naval battle. The stern thrift of Elizabeth's administration limited the royal navy to thirteen vessels of more than 400 tons and to thirty-eight vessels of all sizes. But the seaport towns provided ships ; many private noblemen and naval officers did the same : and in days when every merchantman that sailed the seas was accustomed to fight for its cargo and the liberty of its crew, these privateers were more than valuable auxiliaries.

In the beginning of May news came to England that the Armada was assuredly about to sail. The vessels which the avarice of the royal administration had caused to be dismantled were as quickly as possible fitted for sea, and the English fleet was arranged so as to guard the coast both against the Armada and the flotilla, which Parma had collected to transport his troops, in the harbours of Flanders. Lord Henry Seymour, with the *Rainbow*, the *Vanguard*, the *Antelope*, and thirty pri-



vateers, was left to watch the flotilla of Parma, while the Lord High Admiral, with the rest of the royal fleet and his merchantmen, sailed down Channel and joined Drake at Plymouth. The whole force collected at that port amounted to twenty-nine Queen's ships and fifty-three privateers.

While these preparations had been made in England, the Armada had been making ready for sea in the port of Lisbon. The fighting fleet which was to convoy the army transports consisted of 129 vessels, of which the average tonnage was far superior to that of the English navy. The great proportion were built high, like castles, with their upper decks musket-proof, and their main timbers of a thickness of four or five feet, which it was hoped the English ordnance could not penetrate. The weight of metal carried by the men-of-war far exceeded the power of the English broadsides; but by a curious oversight, and apparently to give space for the military necessities, the supply of powder was limited to fifty rounds per gun. The store of provisions and ammunition embarked, which was intended for the army after landing, was calculated to supply 40,000 men for six months.

The most serious deficiency of the Armada was the want of pilots. In former times the Spaniards had known the Channel as well or better than the English; but the capture of Flushing and consequent sealing up of the Scheldt had left the trade of the Baltic in the hands of the Protestant Dutch, who refused to supply pilots to the Catholic Armada, and did their utmost to impede Parma's preparations. They succeeded so far

that the Duke was unable to avail himself of the harbour of Sluys; but by May 1588 he had his transports freighted with stores and provisions alongside the quays of Nieuport and Dunkirk, and his 30,000 men camped on the shore and ready to embark as soon as the Armada should open up the Channel.

On the 19th May, the Armada, amidst the cheers and prayers of Spain, weighed anchor, and stood out from the Tagus. Northerly breezes prevailed; and as the heavy galleons worked with difficulty to windward, it required three weeks for the fleet to make Finisterre. Here it was separated by a gale, but concentrated again in the Bay of Ferrol; and on the 12th July, as the early sun was lighting up the white walls of Corunna against the purple masses of the Gallician mountains, floated before a gentle breeze over the tiny waves that gave back to the sunshine the red crossed pennants waving from the mastheads, and glided for ever out of Spanish waters.

On the 16th the fleet was off Ushant. A south-west gale, the successor of many that raged in the Channel that spring, came down upon them. Four galleys were driven on the coast of France and wrecked, and the *Santa Anna*, a galleon of 800 tons, foundered with 90 sailors and 300 troops. But after two days the weather cleared. On the 19th, in good order, they stood into the Channel, and on the 20th sighted the Lizard. But English fishing-boats had already announced their approach, and on the night of the 19th July through England spurring horsemen and beacons fired from hill to hill bore the news. In manor-house and hamlet, in



city and market town, horses were saddled and arrows were seized. Yeomen hurried to the musters; squires and nobles galloped to the array. Then men knew what they had never truly expected to realize. The hour of trial was come. Then colonels fully felt how untrained were their men, and how little did even the spirit of supreme patriotism compensate for the want of military preparation. But the cares and fears of that night were hidden from all but a few: the troops had to be encouraged; their spirits must be maintained. The true sense of anxiety was known but by a small number; and when the bitterness of the agony was fresh, these were not ready to declare it openly. But its effect was seen in subsequent legislation.

On that same night, as the wind blew fresh into Plymouth Sound, the Queen's ships and some of the privateers there were warped out and moored behind Ram Head. By the next morning forty English vessels were lying under shelter of Mount Edgecumbe, so that they could fetch out to sea to engage as soon as necessary.

It was late in the afternoon, however, before the lookout men posted on the heights reported a line of canvas in sight, which came nearer and nearer, in the form of a broad crescent of 150 sail.

The English ships weighed anchor immediately, and as the Duke de Medina Sidonia at dusk opened Plymouth he perceived that Howard was ready to engage. In the night the English vessels came out and hung upon the rear of the Spanish squadron, but out of gunshot. The next morning the Spaniards bore up for battle, but the

heavy galleons toiled slowly through the water, while the English vessels, built on sharper lines, with longer keels and lower bulwarks, flew speedily from point to point. The Spanish vessels could not close; the English would not. The latter, conscious of their superior power of manœuvre, ran backwards and forwards in rear of the Spanish line, and raked each vessel as they passed. The English seamen also manned their guns with more effect than the Spaniards, and fired four rounds for the Spanish one, whenever the vessels came within close distance, which was not seldom, for at every advantageous moment some English ship was firing at close quarters into the stern or bow of a Spaniard. After sustaining a not inconsiderable loss of cordage, spars, and rigging, on the approach of more English vessels from Plymouth, Medina Sidonia signalled the Armada to proceed up Channel. Howard hung upon his rear, and orders were sent to Lord Henry Seymour to be ready in the Downs. Some of the Spaniards fouled each other, and were left behind. They were seized by the English, and the powder transferred from their magazines; for so shortsighted had been the parsimony of the royal administration, that the English ships after one day's action were already short of ammunition. Some was got from captured Spanish vessels; more was occasionally brought out by vessels from the coast.

The orders of Medina Sidonia were to make straight for Margate, there to land his own troops, and to cover with his superior numbers the transport of the army of Parma across the Channel. Pursued by Howard, who



continually fired upon his rear, captured stragglers, and occasionally engaged more seriously, the Spanish fleet, in intervals of storm and sunshine, made its tardy way up Channel. On the 27th July it anchored off Calais, and orders were sent to Parma to embark his troops. The English prospects were not particularly encouraging. The Spanish fleet had been injured by the actions in the Channel, but had now opened communications with Parma, and its strength, even if impaired, was not very seriously diminished. The English ships were short of provisions and powder. It was necessary to drive the Spaniards, if possible, out of the Channel. On the night of the 28th, eight vessels smeared with pitch, with sheets belayed and helms lashed, were fired by the English, and were carried by the strong westerly wind and the tide straight down upon the Spaniards' anchorage. In great confusion they slipped their cables and stood out to sea, losing not a few vessels. The next day the wind increased, and added to the confusion of the Armada. Then the English closed upon them. The superior sailing powers of their vessels enabled them always to keep to windward; and with great loss of men and ships, the Spaniards were slowly driven towards the shoal water which breaks in muddy foam upon the Flanders coast. The entire destruction of the Spanish fleet seemed imminent; but when it was all but assured the English powder fell short, the English guns one after another dropped into silence, and Sidonia, leaving many of his vessels behind, extricated the remainder, and bore up for the North Sea, having lost in that day's engage-

ment over 4,000 men. The Spaniards were short of water, but the stormy wind which was blowing fiercely from the south-west, and the continual presence of the English fleet, gave them no time to refit. They resolved to push up the eastern coast, round Scotland, and return to Spain by the west of Ireland. Leaving Lord Henry Seymour in the narrow seas to guard against any attack by Parma, the English fleet pursued till the Spaniards were well past the Forth. It then returned to the Downs, leaving the weather, which became worse and worse, to complete the discomfiture of the 120 vessels which still remained to Sidonia from the 150 with which he had sailed from Corunna. These were scattered, dispersed, and wrecked in large numbers along the coasts of Scotland and of Ireland; and of the whole Armada, fifty-four ships, sorely battered, with only 9,000 or 10,000 worn and exhausted men, ever regained Spain.

Parma, deprived of the escort for his convoy, could attempt nothing on the sea, and broke up his camp at Dunkirk. The naval action fought off Gravelines on the 30th July, 1588, defeated this invasion, and the military preparations made in England to resist a disembarked force were fortunately not put to the proof.

Philip, even after the defeat of the Armada, made preparations again to invade England in the following year, which were frustrated by an expedition under Sir Francis Drake, that occupied Corunna, destroyed the naval stores and magazines there, threatened Lisbon, and bombarded Vigo.

Neither the repulse of the Armada nor the subsequent



English expedition to Lisbon terminated the war between England and Spain. During its further progress the English Government, schooled by experience, recognized that the sole true defence of the country could be found in a daring offensive policy. Frequent expeditions were directed from England against the coasts and colonies of Spain, and during the remaining years of the reign of Elizabeth the Spaniards as a rule were too much occupied at home to engage in distant expeditions on a large scale. Spanish privateers lurked in all the inlets of the peninsula, and whenever they could avoid the English cruisers they flew to sea to attack English merchantmen or to even harry the English coasts.

In the month of July 1594, notwithstanding the superiority of the English navy, a Spanish detachment under Don Diego Borchon, with four galleys, entered Mount's Bay in Cornwall. Some troops were disembarked, who burnt Mouth-hole, Newlin, and Penzance, and then returned to their vessels without attempting to penetrate into the country.

Again in 1601, the Spanish Government despatched an expedition to Ireland, which had been in a state of chronic rebellion against the English Government since the year 1560. This expedition consisted of forty-eight ships, carrying 4,000 thousand troops, under the command of Don Juan d'Aguilar. The Spanish flotilla, avoiding the English navy, arrived off Kinsale on the 23rd September. The Spaniards immediately commenced to disembark, and Sir Richard Piercy, the

English commandant of Kinsale, who had a garrison of only 150 men at his disposal, found it imperative to at once evacuate the place. The Irish showed a strong inclination to join the invaders in large numbers; but before the native chiefs could reach Kinsale, Lord Mountjoy, the English governor of Ireland, marched rapidly to Kinsale with a considerable force, and laid siege to the place on the land side, while an English squadron under Sir Richard Levison completed the investment by sea.

These energetic measures prevented the Spanish reinforcements, consisting of 2,000 men under the command of Alphonso Ocampo, from landing at Kinsale. They threw themselves, however, into Baltimore and Berehaven, where they were joined by Tyrone and other Irish chieftains with all their forces. The first thought of the invaders at Baltimore was naturally to move on Kinsale with their Irish allies, raise the siege, and set their compatriots free for further operations. Lord Mountjoy was apprised of these intentions by intercepted letters. Leaving a force of 600 mariners and some cavalry to watch Kinsale in conjunction with the navy, he drew up his troops on some advantageous ground, so as to bar the march of the relieving force. Tyrone led the vanguard of the advancing Irish, and expected to surprise Mountjoy engaged in the siege and unsuspecting of attack. Finding the English army strongly posted, he wished to retreat; but Mountjoy immediately closed, drove back the vanguard in disorder, and, pursuing it to the main body, defeated the



latter with the loss of 1,200 men. Ocampo was taken prisoner, and Tyrone fled into Ulster. D'Aguilar, finding himself reduced to the greatest straits, and disappointed of relief, was forced to capitulate. He surrendered Kinsale and Baltimore, and agreed to quit Ireland.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### INVASION BY THE DUTCH.

DURING the negotiations for peace at Breda, the Government of Charles II. anticipating an early termination to the hostilities which had lately, with an equal balance of success, been carried on by the English against the naval power of the States-General aided by France and Denmark, imprudently suspended naval preparations. De Witt, the Pensionary of the States, saw the opportunity of striking his enemy a severe blow. De Ruyter sailed from the Texel with fifty sail of the line, and on the 18th June, 1667, appeared at the mouth of the Thames. The greatest consternation prevailed in London. A chain was drawn across the Medway, and some hasty additions made to the works of Sheerness port. But these preparations were quite unequal to the necessity. De Ruyter detached his vice-admiral, with seventeen sail and some fireships, to sail up the Thames. The fort of Sheerness, though bravely defended, was captured on the 10th July. Favoured by a spring tide and an easterly wind, the Dutch passed up the Medway, broke the chain which was placed to bar the passage,



though supported by some hulks sunk by the Duke of Albemarle, and burned the three vessels—the *Matthias*, the *Unity*, and the *Charles the Fifth*—which lay to to defend the chain. After damaging many other vessels, the Dutch forced their way to Upnor Castle, and there on the 13th burned the *Royal Oak*, the *Loyal London*, and the *Great James*. Without suffering any appreciable loss, the Dutch then sailed down the Medway. The greatest agitation prevailed in London. It was feared that with the next tide the Hollanders would push up the Thames and carry hostilities even to London Bridge. Hurried means of resistance were as rapidly as possible arranged. Nine ships were sunk in the channel at Woolwich, four at Blackwall; ramparts were raised in many places along the bank and armed with artillery, and the train bands were called out. A force of 120,000 men was hastily levied throughout the country, and Parliament was called together.

The Dutch held the command of the sea; the military preparations for defence in England were crude, imperfect, and wholly inadequate. Had but a small army accompanied the Dutch fleet, there can hardly be any doubt but that it could, without encountering any resistance, save from the train bands, have occupied London. There was no time to collect a force from even the midland shires. The first line of defence of the island had been caught napping, and there was no line of military defence ready to supplement it. Never since has the English capital been so nigh falling into the power of an invader.

Fortunately the military power of the Dutch was totally incommensurate with their navy. No troops accompanied the expedition. De Ruyter, either ignorant of the weakness of the country or anxious to inflict damage on the navy alone where success was open to him, leaving a small force to blockade the Thames, sailed to the south, and made an attempt on Portsmouth. Repulsed there, he again made a descent on Plymouth, where he was also driven off. Returning to the Thames, he again pushed on as far as Tilbury, but the Dutch admiral did not appreciate that importance of time which has been so thoroughly appreciated in late modern warfare. He had from the first acted slowly, and when he returned to Tilbury the preparations to meet him, though by no means complete, were respectable. There were well-placed batteries on the bank, supported by the trained bands. Without a land army he was unable to attack these, except in front, and was forced to draw off without doing more actual harm to the metropolis than of throwing it into a frenzy of panic, which was speedily forgotten when its cause had passed away, even before the Peace of Breda, which shortly afterwards occurred, was signed.



## CHAPTER XV.

### INVASIONS UNDER THE STUART DYNASTY.

[AUTHORITIES.—Macaulay ; Historical Records of the various Regiments of the British Army.]

THE sudden death of Charles II. deprived of all hope of recall to their own country those English refugees who had embraced too heartily the Whig policy of the exclusion of James II. from the throne. Conspicuous among these were the Duke of Monmouth, the eldest natural son of Charles I., and Archibald, ninth earl of Argyle. Having met at Amsterdam, seduced by the temptations of banished compatriots who possessed but little military experience and not always assured characters for honesty, these ill-fated noblemen determined to attempt by force what they could not accomplish by policy, and by open violence to drive James from the throne.

At Amsterdam there quickly collected a large body of those English and Scotch exiles whom the unbending policy of the Tories or the persecution of the Episcopalians had driven from their homes. But these had little feeling in common except hatred of the sovereign who had just been crowned at Westminster. The English looked down upon the Scots ; the Scots were jealous

of the English. The claim of Monmouth to be regarded as a prince of the blood-royal offended Argyle, proud of a descent from ancient kings and of his more than regal sway over the great clan of Campbell. Monmouth, easy and effeminate everywhere except in the excitement of battle, could not but feel a good-natured contempt for one whose claim to consideration was mainly based on the hereditary allegiance of half-savage islanders and mountaineers. But these national jealousies were not even so dangerous to the enterprise as the views held by the leading Scotchmen who professed at Amsterdam to follow Argyle. So jealous were these emigrants of the power of the sword and of the possible policy of a victorious leader, that the Aulic Council or Dutch Commissioners never imposed on a general charged with the conduct of a well-organized and well-disciplined force such restrictions as those with which they tied the hands of Argyle. The success of any military enterprise must be extremely doubtful if unbounded confidence and unbounded power be not freely accorded to the chosen commander. Much more so must this be the case when, as in the present instance, the only hope of avoiding disaster depends upon secrecy, energy, and rapidity of action. Yet so eager were the Scots who assembled at Amsterdam to ensure that Argyle should not abuse the fruits of victory, that they denied to him the power without which his victory was impossible. At length the disputes between the Scotch themselves and between them collectively and the English were compromised. It was agreed that Argyle should make a descent on the



west coast of Scotland. His landing near the Clyde would, it was anticipated, draw the English troops to the north, and leave free scope for a descent by Monmouth in the south-west of England.

Argyle was to have the nominal command of the expedition in Scotland, but his command was really limited to the direction of the troops in manœuvre. A committee accompanied him, which reserved to itself the adjudication of those points of military administration which form the most important duty of a general. It was left to this committee to determine the point of debarkation of the force, the mode of raising troops, the method of supply of provisions, and the period and amount of the issue of stores and ammunition.

Monmouth naturally was to command in England. His hands were not tied so closely as those of Argyle, but even his supporters bargained that he should not assume the regal title till it had been bestowed upon him by the vote of a free Parliament. His success was therefore more possible. It was believed that his arrival would be the signal for general risings in Cheshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hampshire: and the instigators of the expedition pointed out with complacency that two centuries before the Earl of Richmond under similar circumstances had invaded England and torn the crown from Richard III.

But the circumstances were very different. In the fifteenth century every nobleman had at his disposal a long train of men-at-arms, archers, and pikemen. These feudal retainers formed the military strength of

the kingdom, a strength which was by no means dependent on the sovereign. Each baron could rely with confidence on the action of his own contingent. There was naturally little quiet in the country when the proprietor of every castle possessed individually the power of the sword. Constant strife made both the leaders and their retainers experienced in warfare; and any leader who was assured of the support of even a few noblemen was certain to find himself at the head of, for the times, a formidable array.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century this had long been altered. The feudal supremacy of the nobility had long ceased to exist. Those who as lord-lieutenants of counties had the command of the militia, led bands not dependent on themselves, but as commissioned officers of the Crown—assembled troops avowedly arrayed and mustered for the service of the sovereign. The archers and bill-men who fought at Bosworth were the tenants and dependants of Stanley and Norfolk. The ploughmen and weavers who could now be mustered by Beaufort or Pembroke had no necessary connection with their titled leaders except the tie of living in the same county and of allegiance to a common sovereign. When Stanley deserted on Bosworth field, he carried over with him the whole military force of his wide estates and of his dependent neighbours. Had Pembroke hastened to join Monmouth, he could hardly have carried with him more men than performed the necessary duties of his household. In the metropolis indeed there was a force which had already given an earnest, in



times of political excitement, of independent action. The duties entrusted to the lord-lieutenants of counties were in London performed by a committee of the leading citizens. Under this committee were the aldermen and councilmen who formed the officers, the apprentices and journeymen who filled the ranks of the twelve regiments of foot and two regiments of horse that constituted the train-bands of the city. The difference between the intelligent Londoner and the rustic clown was far greater when the power of intellectual exercise was concentrated in a narrow focus than at the present time, and the train-bands of the city were in the days of James II. as superior to the rural musters as are now the Volunteers of the Inns of Court to the militiamen of Somersetshire; but had they even with one accord gone over to the invader, it is doubtful if they could have materially influenced the fortune of Monmouth.

There was a wide military distinction between the period of Bosworth and the period of Sedgemoor. The train-bands which had protected Hampden and Pym, and had turned the fate of a revolution by raising the siege of Gloucester, formed no longer the most important armed force in the kingdom. The stern army of Puritan warriors, whose religious zeal was even stronger than their own discipline, which had forced its leader to slaughter a king and had compelled the Parliament which called it into existence to submit to its rigid domination, had been disbanded after the restoration of the Royal House. But in its place, and to guard against the possible fervour of its disbanded members,

a new standing army had been called into existence. The character of the two forces was indeed different. The army of the Parliament received wages superior to those of the labourer or mechanic of the time. It was composed of men of a superior class, whose military prowess was only equalled by their religious zeal. In it no ribaldry was permitted, no licence tolerated. The only sounds which broke the stern silence of camp or quarters were the tunes of fervid exhortation or the song of psalms. Its soldiers greeted battle with a yell of joy, and looked on the charge of a post as a sacred trust. The crimes and diseases which ever follow in the train of intemperance and excess were unknown among its members. No desertions or malingering reduced its ranks. But although its regiments had in Flanders, Spain, and England driven before them all foemen in headlong rout, Charles was unable to retain its soldiery in the royal service. The parsimony of the Court in all matters which did not conduce immediately to the Prince's pleasure, and the strong political bias of the troops, alike forbade his doing so.

But soon after his restoration Charles had commenced to form a regular standing army, and laid the foundation of that force which now guards British interests from Halifax to Hong Kong, and ensures order on the arid cliffs of Aden and the deep valleys of the snow-capped Himalayas. The Life Guards then consisted of four troops, of which one was permanently stationed at Edinburgh. In this corps, which was held responsible for the security of the King and the Royal Family, even the privates



were officially designated as Gentlemen of the Guard. They were mostly cadets of good families and younger sons of country gentlemen. A small body of grenadier dragoons, who came from a lower class and received lower pay, were attached to each troop, and apparently performed the duties of the stable. The social status of the privates of the Life Guards was not long maintained, and towards the close of the last century the corps was re-organized, divided into two regiments, and placed on its present footing. Another troop of household cavalry, distinguished by blue uniform and known as the Oxford Blues, was usually quartered at Windsor. Near the metropolis also lay the solitary regiment of dragoons then borne on the Army List. It had, till the close of the reign of Charles II., formed part of the fortress of Tangier, which, originally a portion of the dowry of the Queen, was only abandoned by the English Government shortly before the accession of James. This regiment is still known as the 1st Royal Dragoons. Since the close of the eighteenth century, in common with all the other dragoon regiments, it has been regarded as a body of cavalry, but in the time of the last James the dragoons fought on foot, and merely used their horses for the purpose of rapid movement from one point of action to another. A single troop of dragoons, which was not regimented, lay in the fortress of Berwick, and was frequently employed in keeping order among the moss-troopers of the border. Scattered through England and Scotland, and employed for police purposes in Ireland, were the rudiments of corps which, afterwards drawn closer

into a more solid organization, became seven regiments of horse. When it was afterwards found that dragoons gradually asserted the performance of mounted duties alone, and did those duties equally well and more economically than the more orthodox regiments of horse, the seven regiments of horse not included in the household cavalry were made dragoons, but, to salve the wound which this reduction might occasion, were termed Dragoon Guards, were permitted to retain velvet facings as a relic of the rich dress that distinguished horse regiments, and formed the present seven regiments of Dragoon Guards of the British service. At the present time England, correctly speaking, possesses only three horse regiments, the two regiments of Life Guards and the Blues. To them almost the sole distinguishing mark from dragoons that remains, is, that the rank of corporal of horse is the highest rank of their non-commissioned officers.

The household infantry in England consisted, in the time of James II., of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards and the Coldstream Guards. They did duty near Whitehall and St. James's Palace. There were then no barracks, and the Petition of Right, granted soon after the Restoration, protected the people from troops being billeted in private houses. The soldiers in consequence received lodging money, and, much to the prejudice of discipline and morals, crowded the smaller alehouses and drinking dens in Westminster and behind Whitehall. The regiment of Scots Fusiliers formed a part of the standing garrison in Scotland.



Besides the household infantry on the English establishment, there were five regiments of infantry. One of these, named the Admiral's Regiment, was specially retained for service on board ship, and gradually became the corps of Royal Marines. The remaining four still rank as the first four regiments of the Line. Two of these represented corps which had already gained high fame in European war. The first, or Royal Scottish Regiment, generally spoken of in the chronicles of the time as Dumbarton's Regiment, from the name of its commander, had fought under Gustavus Adolphus, and contributed not a little to the deliverance of Germany. The third regiment, which from its light orange-coloured facings has acquired the name of the Buffs, had under Maurice of Nassau fought sternly for the freedom of the Netherlands and the cause of the House of Orange. Both these corps had been recalled by Charles II. from foreign service and stationed in England.

The two remaining regiments had lately returned from Tangier, where they had formed the bulk of the garrison. They now rank as the second and fourth of the Line. The former, from having been employed to defend a Christian fortress against a Mahometan population, bore as their badge the sign of the Paschal Lamb. They were commanded by the notorious Colonel Kirke. Their discipline had been impaired by a long term of service in an unhealthy climate, where punctual and rigid performance of duty could not be enforced, where the climate encouraged drunkenness, and where licence and rapine could be freely indulged against the Moorish population.

Such an education made the soldiers brutal, violent, and licentious. Their commander, though prone to anger and severe in punishment for some offences, indemnified his men for submitting to illegal penalties for incurring his displeasure, by permitting them to get drunk on guard, reel maudlin about the streets, and insult, rob, and beat modest girls and unoffending mechanics or labourers.

Besides these regiments of infantry, a few detached companies were held in garrison at Tilbury Fort, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and other important places along the coast. As yet there was no regiment of Artillery, no corps of Engineers, no body of scientific officers. At most of the garrisons there were gunners, and at a few stations of importance an engineer could be found. But in field artillery the country was far behind the nations of the Continent, and the field-pieces which it possessed could only be moved with extreme difficulty.

During the seventeenth century the pike had been gradually superseded by the musket, and at the close of the reign of Charles II. the infantry mainly consisted of musketeers, though there was still in the ranks a considerable intermixture of pikemen. Each foot soldier carried, besides the musket or pike, a sword for close combat. The dragoon was armed with a musket, and with what was then called a dagger, but now is known as the bayonet. The bayonet, when fixed, was inserted in the muzzle of the musket, which could not be fired if a charge was anticipated.

No Mutiny Act, and consequently no special punish-



ment for military offences, then existed.<sup>1</sup> A soldier who knocked down his captain or beat his corporal was in the eye of the law liable to no other penalties than those attendant on ordinary assault and battery. Practically the officers did inflict military punishments for military offences, but on their own responsibility. The majority of the officers do not appear to have possessed the moral tone which can induce discipline without severity. It is easy to believe, therefore, that the troops were in a state which at the present day would be considered extremely irregular, and that in England there was little opportunity of enforcing regularity.

Still, the army which served under James II. was immensely superior as a military force to the feudal levies that fought at Bosworth ; and being trained to war and confined to professional duties, was immeasurably superior to the rural militia, or to any rustic levies that a discontented nobleman or even a popular adventurer could rally round his standard.

It was arranged that two Englishmen, Rumbold and Ayliffe, should accompany Argyle to Scotland, and that a Scotchman, Fletcher of Saltoun, should go with Monmouth to England. The outlaws were able to raise, from their own resources and from the subscriptions of sympathisers in Holland, sufficient money to charter vessels and freight them with a certain amount of arms, stores, and provisions. The friends of the movement in England sent little. 6,000*l.* was expected from London, but Monmouth's agent in London sent excuses instead

<sup>1</sup> Articles of War were in existence in the time of James II.

of the money. This single fact should have shown the Duke how little the upper classes of the island favoured his enterprise. Monmouth made up the deficiency by pawning his own jewels and those of Lady Wentworth, an heiress who had fled from family and home to share his wanderings and soothe his exile with her love.

The information of the English Government was extremely good. The preparations of Monmouth and Argyle were early known at Whitehall. It was at first supposed that Argyle would, with the Duke, sail to the west of Scotland: and at first no invasion of England seems to have been expected. A proclamation was issued directing that Scotland should be placed in a state of defence. The militia of the Lowlands was ordered to be held in readiness. The laws hostile to the Campbells were set in motion. John Murray, Marquis of Athol, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Argyleshire; and immediately, with a large force of his clansmen, occupied Argyle's castle of Inverary. Several persons suspected of communication with the exiled chief of the Clan Campbell were arrested. English cruisers were sent to watch the Firth of Clyde and the Kyles of Bute, and part of the army which garrisoned Ireland was moved to the north-west coast over against Cantyre. English diplomacy endeavoured to obtain the arrest of the expedition in Holland. The Prince of Orange and the States-General were both anxious to oblige the English king, but the local authorities of Amsterdam threw obstacles in their way, and Argyle was allowed to sail unimpeded from the Zuyder Zee.



He steered for the north of Scotland, and on the sixth day sighted the Orkneys. Most unwisely, he anchored and delayed at Kirkwall. Intelligence of his presence was immediately sent to Edinburgh. Troops were at once moved to Argyleshire, and the Earl lost the great advantage of landing unexpectedly among his own clan. By the time that he reached Dunstaffnage, the heads of the branches of the Campbell family, who would have acted as his officers, were already arrested. From Dunstaffnage the expedition sailed to Campbeltown. Here the Earl landed, and sent forth the fiery cross to summon the Campbells to arms. The trysting-place was the isthmus of Tarbet : there within a few days 1,800 claymores were assembled of the 4,000 or 5,000 Campbells who would have flown to arms had not a great part of their land been held by hostile forces.

Argyle divided the clansmen who joined him into three regiments. Now the baneful action of the Committee of War became at once manifest. Its members not only suffered the arms they had brought to be spoiled and the provisions wasted, but even attempted to interfere with the patriarchal authority of the chief over his clan and to claim an authority in the appointment of the officers among the mountaineers. The Committee equally unwisely interfered with the selection of the theatre of operations. Argyle naturally wished to commence the campaign by driving from his own province the hostile clans that had been poured into it from the east. Thus he could have established a secure base of operations, and gained freedom for the whole of his clansmen to

join him in arms. But some of the Committee thought that Argyle at the head of his own clan would be too formidable, and insisted that a descent should be made on Ayrshire. To their loud insisting the Earl allowed his better judgment to yield, and consented to divide his force, which, even held together, was small enough for the task before it. Argyle remained with Rumbold in the Highlands. Hume and Cochrane were detached with a force which was to make a descent on the Ayrshire coast.

But this coast was closely watched by the royal cruisers. The party which had been detached from Tarbet was obliged to run up the Firth of Clyde to the village of Greenock, then a small fishing hamlet, consisting of a single row of thatched cottages, now one of the most important ports of our island. A few men were landed under the fire of a company of militia that lay at Greenock. The militia were driven back, and some meal levied in the village. But none of the people joined the adventurers. These, having failed to raise even a spark of insurrection on the mainland, rejoined Argyle, who, to support the movement, had come into the island of Bute.

The Earl now again proposed to recur to his original plan of advance on Inverary. Again his views were opposed in the council. The views of Argyle were naturally held by his clansmen; the seamen of the vessels supported Cochrane and Hume. So high did the dispute wax, that it seemed probable the two sides would resort to arms against each other. The fear of such a catastrophe induced the Committee to yield.



The movement was agreed to. The island of Ealan Gheirrig, at the mouth of Loch Riddaw, was selected as the base of operations and a place of arms. Earthworks were thrown up, and a battery armed with some guns taken from the vessels to cover the ships, which were moored close to the port, behind rocks and shoals, where it was thought they must lie unharmed by any of the king's frigates. Elphinstone was left as the commandant of the port. For a short period there was some show of energy. Rumbold captured the castle of Ardkinglass. Argyle skirmished successfully with the men of Murray. But suddenly his advance was stayed, and he himself called back to Ealan Gheirrig by the news that the Government frigates were close to Ealan Gheirrig. The Earl proposed an attack upon them by the vessels, supported by a flotilla of thirty boats filled with armed Highlanders. The Committee refused to sanction such a measure, and made it impossible by raising a mutiny among the seamen. To add to their misfortunes the provisions were now exhausted, and there was no longer food for the men. The Highlanders began to desert, and the Earl in despair yielded to the urgent appeals of those who clamoured for an advance into the Lowlands. He hastily drew his force to the bank of Loch Luig, crossed the water in boats, and landed in Dumbartonshire. Here next morning he learned that the Government vessels had forced a passage to Ealan Gheirrig, captured all his ships, and that Elphinstone had fled from his charge without striking a blow.

As a last resource, Argyle resolved to push boldly on Glasgow. But no sooner was this determination announced than the very men who had constantly insisted on carrying the war into the Lowlands loudly opposed his resolution ; and, when their remonstrances proved vain, laid a plan for seizing the boats, making their own escape, and leaving Argyle and his Highlanders to perish alone. This plan was discovered and frustrated, and the would-be fugitives forced involuntarily to share the further peril of the adventure.

In the advance towards Glasgow, through the country between Loch Luig and Loch Lomond, the little army was constantly harassed by detachments of militia. These were pushed back by the advancing Highlanders, but sent word of their approach and constantly fell back upon reinforcements ; and when Argyle reached the river Leven, he found a considerable force of militia drawn up to bar his way, supported by a regiment of regulars that had been hurried up from Glasgow.

The Earl wished to attack, but Hume loudly remonstrated against such a hazardous proceeding. He could see at least one regiment in scarlet ; more might be in support : to attempt to force the Leven was to court certain death ; the safest course was to wait till night, and in the darkness slip past the enemy.

Argyle again yielded ; but in the evening proposed a night attack. This was also overruled, and the dangerous course adopted of attempting to pass by a flank march an unbroken enemy by night and through a difficult country. The bivouac fires were left burning, and



the little army shortly after nightfall set out over heaths and morasses to slip round the enemy's position, and gain Glasgow without an action. The exploit was extremely dangerous. The result was disastrous: the guides mistook the path across the moors, and led the army into boggy ground. Alarm quickly succeeded despondency.. Every wind that stirred the heather seemed in the darkness to be the sound of the hostile infantry marching; every gust that swept through the pine-trees was imagined to be the rush of the enemy's horse. Panic followed quick upon alarm. The troops lost all order, large parties lost the main body, and individual stragglers fell rapidly away. When morning broke, only 500 men remained to assemble, weary and dispirited, at Kilpatrick. With such a tiny force in broad daylight it was hopeless to attempt to continue the contest. All the hopes of the expedition were at an end. A quick attack on the Leven the previous night might have been successful. Success might have raised the western shires. But all chance of avoiding failure had been destroyed by the apparently safer, but really desperate, flank march to Kilpatrick. In war usually much more is lost by timidity than by temerity. Nothing remained for the unhappy leaders of the expedition but to seek safety in flight. Hume escaped to the Continent, but Argyle was taken by a party of militia near Inchinnan, and shortly after executed at Edinburgh.

The expedition of Argyle into a province which, on account of the tardy communications of the time, was little regarded and little cared for, raised only a languid

interest in London. But the metropolis was startled a few days after the receipt of the news of the landing of Argyle by the intelligence that a more formidable invader had descended on the south-western coast of England.

It had been arranged that Monmouth should sail from Holland six days after the departure of the Scottish earl. He deferred sailing for a few days after the arranged period, apparently in the hope that most of the English troops would be moved northward on the news of Argyle's landing, and when he was anxious to set out the wind was unfavourable.

While he was thus delayed, the English Government attempted by diplomacy to secure the arrest of the expedition in Dutch waters. The States-General were willing to accede to the desires of the King of England, and the Stadtholder, the Prince of Orange, was prompted both by policy and interest to prevent the departure of Monmouth. But the town of Amsterdam was eager to thwart the Prince, and its municipal authorities threw so many difficulties in the way of carrying out their instructions, that the Duke was enabled on a change of wind to quit the Texel unmolested with one large ship—the *Helderenbergh*, armed with twenty-six guns, and freighted with arms and ammunition—and with two smaller vessels. The only aid which the Prince was able to give his uncle was to procure the departure of the three Scotch regiments then in the pay and service of the United Provinces. These were quickly conveyed across the Channel, and marched to the vicinity of London.



During Monmouth's voyage the sea was rough, and several English men-of-war were cruising in the Channel. Although the voyage was prolonged by the bad weather, he evaded the English cruisers, and reached in safety the Dorsetshire coast. Here one of the refugees, named Thomas Dare, who possessed considerable influence in Taunton, was put ashore with instructions to hurry across country and inform those friendly to his cause at Taunton of the speedy arrival of Monmouth. On the morning of the 11th of June the *Helderenbergh* with her two smaller consorts appeared off the port of Lyme, the only harbour where within several miles vessels could lie at anchor secure from the storms of the Channel.

The appearance of these vessels of foreign rig and without colours caused uneasiness in the town. The Customs officers who went on board did not return. At last seven boats put off from the largest ship, and, carrying about eighty men, rowed ashore. Among the passengers were Monmouth, Grey, Fletcher, Ferguson, and Wade. As soon as they landed, Monmouth returned thanks for his safe voyage on the beach, and then with his sword drawn led his men into the town of Lyme.

As soon as it was known who was the leader, and what the cause of the expedition, the townspeople enthusiastically welcomed the Duke as the champion of the Protestant religion. His ensign, a blue flag, was displayed in the market-place; the arms and ammunition were stored in the town-hall; and a declaration setting forth the legitimacy of Monmouth, and the design of

freeing the country from tyranny and Popery, was read at the Cross. The yeomen and artisans of the neighbouring districts, who were generally Dissenters, embraced the cause of Monmouth enthusiastically, and flocked in crowds to join him. Before he had been twenty-four hours on English ground 1,500 men had joined him. Dare came in from Taunton, with forty horsemen mounted on the rough colts then bred largely in the Somersetshire marshes, with a good account of the state of feeling in Somerset.

But the gentry and nobility stood aloof. They were, with few exceptions, Tories, and looked with horror on the possibility of another reign of armed saints imposed on the country in the name of Protestantism. At Bridport a force was being quickly assembled to oppose the insurrection. On the 13th of June the red regiment of Dorsetshire Militia was mustered in that town, and the yellow or Somersetshire regiment was expected to come in on the next day. The Duke determined to strike a blow before his enemies concentrated. On the following morning a detachment of 500 men under Grey and Wade marched against Bridport. An indecisive action took place, such, as Macaulay says, may be expected when two bands of ploughmen officered by country gentlemen and barristers are opposed to each other. At first Monmouth's men drove back the militia, but subsequently retreated to Lyme in considerable confusion.

The result of this skirmish did not impede recruiting. Hundreds of young men hurried to Lyme, and arming



and drilling went on continuously. But information of the landing had already been sent to London, and preparations to resist the invasion had already commenced. The day that the Duke landed, the Mayor of Lyme, a zealous Tory, sent messengers to apprise the gentry of Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, and himself set out for the west. At Honiton he stopped late at night, and sent off to London a hurried despatch. He then pushed on to Exeter. Here Christopher Monk, duke of Albemarle, son of the celebrated General Monk, was holding, as lord-lieutenant of Devonshire, a muster of the militia. Four thousand men were actually under arms at Exeter at the moment of the Mayor's arrival. With this force Monk considered he was sufficiently strong to immediately crush the insurrection, and determined to march on Lyme.

He set out, but on the 15th of June, in the afternoon, on nearing Axminster, found the insurgents in order of battle ready to receive him. They had with them four field-pieces, doubtless brought from Holland by Monmouth. The ground was difficult: the approaches to the position of the rebels led through narrow lanes bordered by thick hedges, which were lined with men armed with muskets. Nor were these the greatest difficulties which encountered Albemarle. A mutinous spirit was evident among the militia-men in his own ranks. To the greater bulk of these the name and cause of Monmouth were dear: had they caught sight of his features or heard his voice, they might have deserted in a body to his standard. Under these circumstances, fearful

of a greater catastrophe than a retreat, without firing a shot Albemarle resolved to retire, although considerably superior in force. As might have been expected with such troops as those forming the militia, with whom formation in line was just possible, advance difficult, and retreat disastrous, the retreat soon became a rout. Men threw away their arms, fled from the ranks, and in many cases stripped off their uniforms. It required only a resolute advance, and Monmouth would have occupied Exeter without a blow. But the Duke knew a little of war, although not an experienced captain, and he saw that his recruits must be better trained before he ventured upon a bold movement. Instead of pursuing the enemy towards Exeter, he marched to the friendly town of Taunton, and arrived there on the 18th of June, exactly a week after his landing.

The despatch sent by the Mayor of Lyme from Honiton reached King James in London at five in the morning of Saturday the 13th of June. The Privy Council were at once called together. Orders were given to raise the strength of every company of infantry and of every squadron of cavalry. Commissions were issued for the levying of new regiments. The Houses of Parliament met: a bill of attainder passed against Monmouth, and five thousand pounds immediately offered as a reward for his capture.

At Taunton Monmouth met with a cordial reception from the townspeople; but the landed gentry and the nobility still stood aloof. Though miners, ploughmen, artisans, and dissenting preachers flocked to his standard, no



one accustomed to authority, or looked up to with reverence by their neighbours, joined his camp. In the hope of gaining the allegiance of those who might feel scruples in taking up arms against the only acknowledged king, Monmouth at Taunton assumed the regal style, and was proclaimed King of England in the market-place of that town on the 20th June. But this assumption did not improve his position. James was no longer young : he had no son : the crown must naturally in a few years descend to a Protestant princess wedded to the chief of the Protestant cause on the Continent. Those who had anything to lose preferred to escape civil war, and though they disliked the government of James, trusted to be relieved of it rather by the sure processes of nature than by the more hazardous, though more immediate, chances of force. On the 21st of June Monmouth marched from Taunton to Bridgewater. Here he took up his quarters in the castle. His army, which consisted of about 6,000 men, was encamped in the castle field. The force could have been easily swelled to larger numbers. Recruits were not wanting, but arms were not forthcoming. The Duke had brought with him but a small supply of pikes and muskets. Many of those who now followed him had no other arms than could be extemporized from articles of husbandry. Of these the most formidable were scythes fastened to long poles, one of which may still be seen in the Tower. But it was impossible to find even a sufficient number of these rude substitutes for pikes, in the country around Taunton and Bridgewater, for those who wished to enlist, and

many who were eager to serve had for this cause to be sent away.

The foot-soldiers now encamped at Bridgewater were organized in six regiments. Many of the men had been in the militia, and still wore their uniforms. The cavalry mustered about 1,000 horsemen, but were of almost no military value. The men were untrained: the horses, large colts intended for the London dealers, had barely been mouthed, and were totally unaccustomed to either the sights or sounds of the ranks. A small body of forty young men, well armed and mounted at their own expense, formed the body-guard of Monmouth, and were the only cavalry worthy of the name with the rebel force.

In the meantime the forces of the Government were making ready for action. On the west of Monmouth's army, the Duke of Albemarle still held under arms a considerable body of militia in Devonshire. On the east the militia of Wiltshire had mustered; and on the north-east that of Gloucester was collected under the Duke of Beaufort, who occupied the important city of Bristol. The train-bands of Sussex and Oxfordshire were moving westward; and at Oxford a volunteer corps of undergraduates was enrolled for the defence of the Crown.

But these would have met the insurgents only on equal terms. The King had at his disposal a more formidable force. The regular army, though much inferior in discipline and equipment to the regular army of the present day, was a body of soldiers trained to the mili-



tary profession. On this much more than on the militia the King justly relied.

As soon as the news of the landing reached Whitehall, Churchill, afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough, was ordered to march with the Blues to the west. Feversham, the commander-in-chief, marched quickly with all the troops that could be spared from the neighbourhood of London. The three Scotch regiments just arrived from Holland took up the garrison duty of the metropolis, and allowed the ordinary garrison to be moved towards Dorsetshire.

By the time Monmouth was ready to march from Bridgewater, Churchill was in front of him. He moved, though harassed by the Blues, to Glastonbury, from Glastonbury to Wells, and from Wells to Shepton Mallet.

As yet he had moved from point to point more with the object of collecting troops than of any serious military enterprise. Now it was necessary to undertake some regular operation. His first design was to seize Bristol. The town was garrisoned only by the Gloucestershire Militia. Many of its inhabitants were friendly to the Whig cause; and if the train-bands of Beaufort could be overpowered and the city seized, not only would the moral credit of the rebel arms be raised, but Monmouth's military chest would be amply filled. Bristol was fortified. The works on the southern side of the town were strong, but those on the Gloucestershire side were weak. It was accordingly determined that the attack should be made on the northern front. To

effect this it was necessary to make a flank march, and to cross the Avon at Keynsham. The bridge at this point had been practically destroyed by the garrison of Bristol, and was for the moment impracticable. A party was accordingly sent forward to execute the requisite repairs. The main body followed slowly, and on the evening of the 24th of June halted at Pensford. The northern part of the fortress was still a long day's march distant, although the army lay within a few miles of the southern works. The night was one of great excitement in Bristol : but Beaufort, with the help of some regular cavalry which had come in from Chippenham, prevented a riot. Still there was a fire in the town ; and had Monmouth pushed boldly in, he might have seized the place. As, however, is so often seen in war, the leader feared to trust a judicious temerity. Though the fire in Bristol was seen from his camp, he remained inactive at Pensford, and the next day moved only to Keynsham. Here the bridge was found repaired ; and, halting for the afternoon, he intended to assault Bristol that night. But the opportunity was past. The advantage of surprise and of the power of the initiative had been lost by want of rapidity of action. The royal troops were close at hand. While the rebel force lay at Keynsham, a squadron of the Life Guards under Colonel Oglethorpe dashed into its lines, routed two troops of rebel horse, inflicted some damage, and doubtless retired with full information of the strength and disposition of its enemy. This cavalry raid caused Monmouth to change all his plans. He relinquished the idea of an attempt on Bristol. The



question then was, what was to be done? It was proposed that the Duke should pass the Severn at Gloucester, break down the bridge there, and, with his right flank protected by the river, move through Worcester-shire into Shropshire and Cheshire. There he would certainly find numerous partisans, and could swell his army to double its actual strength. But his troops were ill equipped for such a task. The men were ill shod, and were already much worn by wading through deep roads under heavy rain: the hostile cavalry were close at hand, and it could hardly be expected that the Duke could reach Gloucester without being forced to a general action in a peculiarly disadvantageous position. It was then proposed to enter Wiltshire, where it was expected that large bodies of men would join him and enable him to accept battle with a prospect of success. This advice was taken. Monmouth turned towards Wiltshire. He summoned Bath, but Bath was strongly held for the Crown. The royal troops were quickly drawing near. The rebel troops made no assault on the town, but hurried to Philip's Norton, where they halted on the evening of the 26th of June. Feversham followed, and on the following morning his cavalry of the advanced guard made an attack. The ground was not favourable for the action of cavalry, and the royal horse, harassed by the fire of the infantry which lined the numerous hedges, was driven back, but the main body of the King's troops came up, and a general action seemed imminent. It did not, however, then occur. Feversham, unwilling to fight till he was joined by his artillery, fell

back to Bradford ; and Monmouth, as soon as night fell, quitted his position and marched southward to Frome, where he arrived at daybreak the next morning. Here he expected to find reinforcements ; but the Earl of Pembroke, with the Wiltshire Militia, had been here a few days before, had suppressed an insurrection, and had carried away all the scythes of the neighbourhood. Thus, though men were ready, they had no weapons, and Monmouth's field stores were unable to provide any.

The rebel army was now in unfavourable circumstances. The weather was bad, the roads were dreadfully heavy with mud, and the night marches had been most trying. It was reported that Feversham was joined by his artillery, and was about to advance. News of Argyle's disaster in Scotland arrived. The hope that some of the regular regiments would come over had been found futile. To advance towards London across the open ground of Salisbury Plain, in the presence of regular cavalry, was to court immediate destruction. Monmouth even contemplated flying ; but his advisers urged him not to betray the peasantry so basely, who had sacrificed all for him, and soon the idea was abandoned. At this crisis news arrived that the peasantry of the marshes of Axbridge had risen in the cause of the Protestant religion, and, armed with bludgeons, flails, and pitchforks, were assembling by thousands at Bridgewater. Thither Monmouth resolved to march, and to unite with these new reinforcements.

The rebel army consequently marched to Wells, and from Wells returned to Bridgewater. The reinforce-



ments, which rumour had magnified into a general rising of the peasantry, were found to be insignificant. The royal army was in close pursuit, and Monmouth began to waver between schemes of fortifying the town and of again attempting to gain the northern bank of the Severn.

In the meantime the King's troops gradually closed upon him. They consisted of about 2,500 men of the regular army and of about 1,500 of the Wiltshire Militia. Early on Sunday, the 5th of July, with this force Feversham marched from Somerton, and encamped that afternoon on the plain of Sedgemoor, about three miles from the town of Bridgewater. In the time of Monmouth's rebellion the wide marshes of Somersetshire, which in the days of Alfred had been inaccessible morasses, had partly been reclaimed by art. Instead of the wide waste of waters formed by the Parret and its tributaries, broken only by treacherous islands covered with rushes and jungle, Monmouth, on Sunday the 5th of July, 1685, saw from the tower of Bridgewater church a broad expanse of moor, intersected by deep-cut drains, known in the dialect of the country as *rhines*. On this open moor, not far from the village of Chedroy, lay the camp of the main body of the royal army, formed of several battalions of regular infantry. Among these, conspicuous lay the Royal Scots, then known as Dumbarton's Regiment, now as the 1st Regiment of the Line. Monmouth recognized this gallant corps, and when he thought of his own army, composed of untrained ploughmen and disbanded militia-men, his heart fell. But the

incompetency of the commander of the royal forces appeared almost to neutralize the superiority of the troops. His strength, although almost in contact with the enemy, was considerably scattered. The Wiltshire Militia lay in the village of Middlezoy, some distance to the rear of the regular infantry ; and the cavalry and head-quarters were cantoned in the hamlet of Weston Zoyland. The discipline in the royal ranks was slack, and Monmouth's spies reported to him that the troopers were drinking themselves drunk with the Zoyland cider. If this were true, and the cavalry incapacitated, a surprise of the infantry might be effected. Were the regulars caught napping, and defeated, or even repulsed, the Wiltshire Militia would probably disperse without firing a shot. To advance across the open plain in daylight, and to attempt to surprise the regular camp, was impossible. But to lose the opportunity Feversham afforded would have been absurd. Monmouth, although he must have been conscious of the difficulty of his task with troops not thoroughly disciplined, resolved to run the hazard of a night attack ; and preparations were at once made.

Towards eleven o'clock that night Monmouth set out from Bridgewater. The moon was full, but the marsh fog lay thick over Sedgemoor, and objects could not be distinguished at the distance of fifty paces. Monmouth in person led the foot. The cavalry was commanded by Grey. In order to approach the royal camp unobserved, the rebel army pursued a circuitous route of about six miles in length. Orders were given that strict silence should be preserved in the ranks, no drum was to be



beaten, no shot fired; the countersign by which the soldiers were to recognize each other was "Soho."

At about one o'clock in the morning of Monday, the 6th of July, the troops of Monmouth had gained the open moor. But between the Duke's force and the position of the royal camp lay three broad and deep ditches, or rhines, filled with mud and water. The waggons which conveyed the spare ammunition were halted at the entrance to the moor, where they were to remain. Two of these, the Black Ditch and Langmoor Rhine, were known to the rebel staff, but curiously the Bussex Rhine, immediately behind which the royal infantry lay, had not been reported to the Duke by either his troopers or his spies. The horse, followed by the foot, crossed the Black Ditch in a long narrow column by means of a causeway. A similar causeway led across the Langmoor Rhine, but in the excitement and the fog the leading guide missed the spot. It was necessary to countermarch the head of the column, and to halt the rear. Even this simple evolution in the dark was too much for the training of the rebel bands. Some confusion arose, and in the disorder a pistol went off, just when the passage of the Langmoor Rhine was being effected. The sound at once attracted the attention of a party of the Horse Guards that was on outpost duty in front of the royal lines. They quickly perceived that a large mass of men was approaching through the mist. To give the alarm they fired their carbines, and galloped off in different directions. One spurred to Weston Zoyland to arouse the horse: another galloped off to

the infantry encampment. The drums of Dumbarton's Regiment gave the alarm ; the men turned out fast, fell into the ranks behind the Bussex Rhine, and lighted their matches. They had little time to spare. Monmouth ordered Grey to push forward at once with the rebel cavalry. Had the ground been clear, a vigorous onset of even untrained horsemen might, in the darkness, have scattered the forming companies of the Royal Scots. But Grey's advance was suddenly checked by finding a deep and broad trench in front of him, of the existence of which he was profoundly ignorant, and on the opposite side of which the royal infantry was hastily forming.

An officer of the Foot Guards challenged the rebel cavalry ; the reply was, "For the King." "For which king ?" was the instant demand. The troopers shouted "King Monmouth," and the old Parliamentary war-cry "God with us." The royal infantry immediately fired a volley, which dispersed the rebel horse in all directions. A few moments after the horse had been scattered, Monmouth's infantry came marching up. Their way was guided by the glowing matches of Dumbarton's Regiment ; but they were also suddenly checked by the Bussex Rhine. Across this volley after volley was fired both by the militia and the regulars, and for three-quarters of an hour the clatter of musketry endured. No success was, however, achieved by either side, for though the regulars fired badly, the militia-men of Monmouth fired worse. The battle might have long continued in an impotent fusillade across the trench, but time had been



given for the royal cavalry to appear upon the scene. The Life Guards and Blues came as hastily as possible from Weston Zoyland, and on their way to the battle scattered in a moment some of Grey's troopers who attempted to rally. These, driven like chaff before the breath of the heavy horsemen, spread panic in their flight. The waggoners who had been left with the ammunition took alarm and drove off at full speed. Nothing could be now hoped for: the King's forces were united: the rebels were without ammunition and cavalry. The advantages of surprise and night had been lost, for day was about to break. Monmouth, who had hitherto been fighting on foot among his infantry, mounted and rode from the field.

His peasant soldiery still made a good stand. The Life Guards charged them on the right, the Blues on the left: on both flanks the royal horse were repulsed. But ammunition failed, and no reserve could be obtained. The royal artillery at this crisis came up. It had been camped half a mile off, on the road from Bridgewater to Weston Zoyland, but depended for locomotion on horses pressed from the country. In the night these were not to be obtained, and it was only by the loan of the coach horses of the Bishop of Winchester, who accompanied the King's army, that the guns were got into action at all. They soon terminated the engagement. The rebel ranks quickly shook, and naturally immediately afterwards broke. The royal horse again charged and swept everything before them. While their cavalry tore away the flanks, the King's foot pushed

across the rhine and attacked in front. A short hand-to-hand contest ensued on the bank of the trench ; but the insurgents, pressed on all sides, were quickly routed, with the loss of over 1,000 men. Of the Royalists about 300 were killed or wounded.

It seems now extraordinary that a force of between 5,000 and 6,000 rustics and miners should have for an hour resisted the attack of half that number of regular troops ; but it must be borne in mind that the men who fought under Monmouth were chiefly militia-men, and had some slight military training, while the regular troops were only inefficiently drilled and in a very slack state of discipline.

The broken army was severely pursued and completely routed. Monmouth himself fled into Hampshire, where he was taken, and afterwards executed at the Tower. The memorable bloody assizes avenged on the peasantry the aid that they had given to him.

The campaign in the west, though successful, had only been decided by the regular troops. The Government found that but little confidence could be placed in the local militia. This served as an excuse to augment the regular army. The six regiments of horse now known as the first six regiments of the Dragoon Guards, were embodied and formed into regiments. At the same time the 3rd and 4th Regiments of Dragoons were raised. The infantry in England, which since the return of the Scotch regiments from Holland numbered seven regiments, was increased by nine regiments. These formed the corps known now as those regiments from the 7th



to the 15th of the Line inclusive. The effect of the recall of the garrison of Tangier and of these augmentations was that the regular army was increased from about 6,000 to near upon 20,000 men. Such a force no king of England had ever before commanded in time of peace.

In the year following the western campaign, the King collected and encamped at Hounslow a large force. There were assembled fourteen battalions of infantry, with thirty-two squadrons of horse and twenty-six guns. This army was intended to overawe the metropolis, but, as was subsequently proved, was quickly affected by the political feelings which prevailed in London.

#### INVASION BY THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

Within three years of Monmouth's landing at Lyme great changes had occurred in England. King James with imprudent haste attempted to force the Catholic religion on the country. Catholic primates were in high-handed fashion appointed to Protestant Sees; Catholic masters were nominated to Protestant colleges of Protestant universities. The Protestant nobility and gentry were alarmed and angered. The Anglican Church, which had hitherto always inculcated the doctrine of passive obedience to the sovereign, saw its very existence threatened. The whole nation was in a fever of agitation. At the climax of the excitement, the hope that nature would in a moderate period of time relieve the

realm of its perils, and that on the death of the King a Protestant prince and a Protestant princess would succeed to the throne, was swept away. In the early summer the Queen, who had previously been reported pregnant, was delivered of a son.

All hope of a peaceful solution of the national difficulties was now at an end. The Protestant portion of the English community had now no resource but to suffer indefinitely the subjugation and persecution of their civil and religious rights, or to call in an armed deliverer. The choice was quickly made. Messages were sent to William, Prince of Orange, urging him to make a descent on England. More competent than Monmouth, he refused to entertain vague promises of aid or hare-brained hopes of insurrection. He would not stir till he received assurances of support from powerful leaders representing powerful interests. These were given to him, and then he commenced his preparations.

In the latter part of July and in August 1688 these preparations were assiduously carried on. Twenty-four ships of war were fitted for sea, supplementary to the normal naval establishment of the United Provinces, on the excuse of driving off some Algerine cruisers who had ventured into the German Ocean. A camp was formed at Nimeguen, where many thousand troops were collected, and here artillery was massed in large quantities. The fortresses of Holland were almost denuded of their garrisons, and 7,000 new recruits were raised to swell the military force : 6,000 seamen were added to the navy. Arms were manufactured both day and



night at Utrecht, and large supplies of biscuit were baked at Rotterdam. A constant communication was open between the Hague and the eastern coast of England, which brought a succession of letters from men in high posts in the State, the Church, and the army, promising support to William. Colonel Trelawney, who commanded the 4th Regiment of Infantry, Colonel Kirke, the leader of the Queen's Lambs, and the famous Churchill, all promised him their swords. Finally, in secret sittings, the consent of the States-General of Holland to the expedition was obtained.

It was impossible that some hints of the great military and naval preparations of William should not reach James. For long he would not believe in their true object, but at length he was convinced. His means were sufficient to repel the attempt. In a very short space of time thirty ships of the line were collected in the Thames, under Lord Dartmouth. The regular army was the largest which any king of England had ever commanded. It was readily increased. New companies were added to existing regiments, and commissions issued to raise new regiments: 4,000 men were added to the English establishment; 3,000 more were brought hastily from Ireland; as many were ordered to march southward from Scotland; and it was estimated that the King would be able, if truly served, to meet the invaders with 40,000 regular troops, backed by 130,000 militia.

On the 16th of October, William, after taking a formal farewell of the States-General, embarked at Helvoet-

sluys on board of a frigate named the *Brill*. His flag was at once hoisted. On it were the arms of Nassau quartered with those of England, and to the motto of the House of Orange, "I will maintain," were added "the liberties of England and the Protestant religion."

The wind soon became favourable. On the 19th the expedition put to sea, and, favoured by a fresh breeze, gained the mid-channel between the coasts of Holland and of England. Then the wind veered round to the west, and, gradually increasing in force, rose into a gale. The vessels were scattered, and regained the ports of Holland in disorder. The Prince himself returned to Helvoetsluys on the 21st, but did not go ashore. In a few days the fleet was again collected: damages were quickly repaired, and again it set sail on the evening of Thursday, the 1st of November. The wind blew strongly from the east. The fleet steered towards the north-west. The vessels sent by the English admiral from the Thames to collect information reported this direction, and confirmed the impression which prevailed that the expedition would attempt a landing in Yorkshire. On a sudden a signal was made from the *Brill*, and the whole fleet bore round and stood for the Straits of Dover. The easterly wind, which favoured the voyage of the invaders, cooped the vessels of Dartmouth within the Thames. Two alone gained the open sea, and were driven back into the river by the violence of the wind.

At about ten on the morning of Sunday, the 3rd of November, the *Brill* neared the narrow seas. She led



the way, followed by more than 500 transports, which were protected on either flank and in rear by men-of-war, commanded by an English admiral, and partly manned by English sailors.

Soon after mid-day the armament passed the Straits. The fleet spread across the Channel, from within a league of Calais on the south to within the same distance of Dover on the north. The men-of-war on the flanks saluted both fortresses at the same time. Immense crowds of spectators lined the heights of both Kent and Picardy. The troops stood to arms on the decks, the roll of drums and the crash of martial music were heard at once both on the coasts of England and of France. At sunset the fleet was off Beachy Head : but through the night it still swept on, every vessel steering her course by the three large lanterns which hung at the stern of the *Brill*.

A courier quickly carried from Dover to Whitehall the news that the armament had passed down the Channel. The military arrangements had to be immediately altered, and fresh combinations executed. The troops in London paraded at three in the morning of Sunday, the 4th of November, by torchlight, in St. James's Park. Several regiments had been sent northwards, under the impression that the descent would be made in Yorkshire. Couriers spurred fast to recall these, and all the forces not absolutely required to keep order in London were ordered to hurry to the west, and to concentrate at Salisbury. As it was thought that Portsmouth might be the first point attacked, three battalions of the Foot Guards and a strong

body of cavalry set out for that place ; but as soon as the news arrived that Portsmouth was safe, the direction of their march was changed, and they were also given the route for Salisbury.

At daybreak on Sunday, the 4th of November, the fleet was close to the chalk cliffs of the Isle of Wight. The day was the anniversary of both William's birth and marriage. Sail was shortened, and Divine service performed in the morning. In the afternoon and the night the vessels held steadily on their course. It was intended to land at Torbay, but the morning of the 5th November was very misty, and the pilot of the *Brill* missed the marks, and the whole fleet, passing the intended point, swept down channel under the easterly wind before the error was discovered. Then it was impossible to return in the teeth of the breeze. Plymouth was the next channel port, but it was known that Plymouth was held for the King by Lord Bath with a strong garrison. The objects of the expedition seemed about to be frustrated, when suddenly the wind dropped, a gentle breeze sprang up from the south, and the fleet was able to retrace its track and by mid-day rode safe in Torbay.

The peasantry, who remembered the name and cause of Monmouth with affection, crowded down to the beach with proffers of provisions and service. The disembarkation immediately commenced, at the point where the quay of Brixham now stands, but which then was a desolate beach. Mackay was sent ashore first with the British regiments which had still remained in the service of the United Provinces. Sixty boats continually carried



the troops from the ships to the shore. The Prince soon landed, and, having procured horses, started at once with Schomberg, his second in command, to reconnoitre the country. The troops who landed had on the first day some hardships to endure: there was no shelter available; the ground was heavily wet with rain, and the baggage was still on board ship. The disembarkation of the horses for the cavalry and artillery threatened to be a work of time. But the following day the wind was calm; the sea was smooth. Some fishermen showed where the transports could come within sixty feet of the beach, and in a few hours the whole of the horses were swum ashore. Hardly had the landing been completed when the wind again sprang up, and blew with violence from the west. The royal fleet, which had cleared the Thames and followed in pursuit down channel, was stayed by the same weather as had allowed William to make Torbay. For two days Dartmouth was becalmed off Beachy Head: then he was able to proceed. He passed by the Isle of Wight, and his leading vessel sighted the topmasts of the Dutch fleet lying in Torbay. But then the westerly gale arose with fury, and he was compelled to run for shelter into Portsmouth harbour.

There was little delay on the part of the Prince of Orange. On Tuesday, the 6th of November, he commenced his inland march, and that afternoon his advanced guard reached Newton Abbot. But the roads were extremely deep and heavy on account of the late rain, and the main body could only traverse them slowly. On the 8th of November a detachment surrounded

Exeter, which opened its gates immediately ; and on the following day the Prince in person with his whole force entered the capital of the West. The whole of the inhabitants of the surrounding country flocked in crowds to welcome the arrival of the champion of their religion, and were not only filled with pleasure, but struck with awe by the appearance of the troops that accompanied him. Macclesfield led the way at the head of 200 gentlemen, mostly of English blood, armed with helmets and cuirasses, and mounted on heavy chargers from Brabant. Each of these horsemen was attended by a negro youth brought from the plantations of Guiana. The common people, who had naturally even less knowledge of foreign countries than their descendants of the present day, gazed with surprise on so many specimens of the African race attendant on the cuirassed warriors. Surprise was succeeded by awe when a squadron of Swedish cavalry came in view following the glittering advanced guard. These troopers rode with drawn swords, and were equipped in black helmets and fur cloaks. The rumour went through the crowd that they came from a land where the ocean was always frozen, and that they themselves had slain the huge bears whose skins they bore. Next came, held by a number of gentlemen and pages, the banner of the Prince, with the motto displayed which told that he came in the cause of the liberties of England. The Prince himself followed, armed with back and breast plates, conspicuous with a white plume, and mounted on a white war-horse. By his side rode Schomberg, who, since Turenne and Condé were dead,



was justly held to be the first soldier in Europe, and was even more celebrated because for conscience-sake he had resigned the bâton and rich emoluments of a marshal of France. In rear of the Prince followed a long column of the bearded infantry of Switzerland, so highly renowned for courage and discipline. These were followed by the English and Scotch regiments in the service of Holland, not, as now, known by numbers, but by the names of their colonels—Bentinck, Solmes, Ginkell, Talmash, Mackay, and Ossory. The appearance of these warriors and the memory of their former continental services inflamed the imaginations of the spectators. They were described as men above the ordinary human stature, and armed with weapons which required gigantic force to wield. So easily is a multitude unaccustomed to military spectacles imposed upon by military order and military array. In rear of the infantry marched the artillery train. It consisted of twenty-one bronze pieces of but small calibre and no great weight, but superior to any field artillery which had as yet been seen on English soil. So bad were the roads of the West of England at this time, and so poor were the horses of the country, that the cannon, which can have been little more than three-pounders, were with labour hauled along by six cart-horses each. A pontoon train also followed the force, and excited great admiration among the staring clowns. It was naturally William's policy to gain at the outset both the respect and affection of the mass of the people. The appearance of his army commanded the former ; the strict discipline preserved in billets and

quarters elicited the latter from a population only too well taught by Kirke's Lambs and Feversham's troopers to appreciate an army in which pillage was prevented and even insult to the inhabitants promptly punished. Even in a hostile country a force which never plunders but pays for its supplies is quickly sure of abundant provisions; much more so was this the case in a land predisposed to welcome the invader. The country people's affection and safety within his lines relieved William of all fear of being able to feed his troops. His base of operations and his line of communication were unnecessary, and could be safely neglected, for in a theatre of war so friendly it was necessary only to transport with the army the ammunition which that theatre could not supply; the proportion of powder and bullets required was much less than with a modern force, and it was easy to arrange for its transport in rear of the fighting-men.

On Tuesday the 6th of November a courier arrived at Whitehall with the intelligence that the Prince had landed the previous day in Devonshire. During the following week London was much agitated. On the following Sunday riots against the Catholics broke out in the City. But as yet the cause of James looked well. The Prince had been already a week on English ground, but though the apprentices of Exeter and the clowns of Chudleigh cheered and stared at his troops, no nobleman or gentleman of consideration had joined his standard. The royal army was rapidly concentrating at Salisbury, and, although inferior in military qualities to the troops of the Prince, was numerically superior.



William was much disappointed and mortified by the apparent timidity and lethargy of those who had invited him over. His design was not to invade England with the view of conducting a campaign against the royal army while the people of the land preserved an indifferent neutrality. The object of his armament was to aid the people in freeing themselves from a yoke they detested. The apathy of their natural leaders in a cause for which he had, though perhaps less interested, risked so much, disgusted him. He even at one time talked of returning to Torbay, re-embarking his army, and leaving those who had betrayed him to their fate. On the 12th of November, however, a landed gentleman of the name of Barrington, who lived near Crediton, came into the Prince's camp. The example once set was speedily imitated, and gradually spread through the country. Lord Lovelace, indeed, on his way to join the court of Prince William at Exeter, was arrested at Exeter by the Duke of Beaufort and sent to Gloucester Castle; but Lord Colchester, Wharton, the eldest son of the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Abingdon arrived in quick succession. These were soon followed by Viscount Cornbury, eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon. He was the commanding officer of one of the regiments of dragoons which had marched to Salisbury. The chief conspirators against the King, among whom Churchill seems to have been important, arranged that on the 14th of November Cornbury should become the senior officer at Salisbury, and that the whole of the troops there should be consequently subject to his orders.

He suddenly ordered three of the cavalry regiments quartered at Salisbury to march to the west under his immediate command. He moved them first to Blandford, and then to Dorchester. After a halt there of a few hours they were again set in motion to move to Axminster. Some of the officers were disquieted, and pressed for an explanation of such strange orders. Cornbury asserted that he was commanded to attack some outlying troops which the Prince of Orange had thrown into Honiton. But this solution did not satisfy suspicion. Further questions found only evasive answers, and Cornbury began to perceive that not only would it be impossible to carry over the whole three regiments as he had intended, but that his own position was one of serious peril. He accordingly stole away with a few friends, and the greater part of his troops, left to an inferior command, returned to Salisbury; but some, having reached Honiton, found themselves among William's forces, and were easily induced by the promise of the gratuity of a month's pay to take service under the Prince of Orange. The news of this desertion reached London on the 15th of November. The King was justly alarmed, and called around him the principal officers still in London. Conspicuous among these were Churchill, as well as Kirke and Trelawney, who commanded the two regiments then known as the Tangier regiments. All, with more policy than veracity, avowed their determination to shed their blood for their august master, as also did the Duke of Grafton, who commanded the 1st Regiment of Guards,



and who was also in communication with the Prince of Orange.

Blinded by their protestations, James prepared to set out for Salisbury. Before he started he appointed a Council of five Peers to represent him in London. On the 19th he arrived at Salisbury, having sent the Prince of Wales to Portsmouth on the day he left London.

The tidings which greeted the King at Salisbury were ominous. The desertion of Cornbury was the signal for a general rising in the western counties, for it showed the spirit of the royal army. The gentry and nobility of Devonshire and Dorsetshire flocked to William's head-quarters at Exeter, which, through the crowd of liveries, coaches, and lackeys, soon assumed the appearance of a court. The common people were eager to take up arms; but William and Schomberg, with a just appreciation of the value of rustic levies, held that if the enterprise were not to succeed, it would not stand a better chance on account of such aid. Commissions for raising regiments were therefore very abstemiously bestowed, and only picked men were enlisted. At the same time as the great influx of leading men of the west took place at Exeter, a messenger arrived there from Plymouth. His errand was to say that the Earl of Bath, the commandant of the fortress, placed himself, his troops, and his charge entirely at the Prince's disposal. The invaders had therefore no longer any hostile force in their rear.

At the same time as the invasion prospered in the

west, an insurrection broke out in the north. On the 16th the men of Cheshire took up arms, and they were quickly aided by risings at York, Derby, and Nottingham, which became the head-quarters of the opposition to the Government in the north. Here were soon assembled in armed array against the King, Danby, Devonshire, Delamere, Stamford, Rutland, Chesterfield, Cholmondeley, and Grey de Ruthyn.

When the King arrived at Salisbury, the Prince thought it time to break up his camp at Exeter. Leaving that city and the surrounding district under the military charge of Seymour, he moved to Axminster, where he remained several days.

The royal army pushed out its posts in the hopes of battle. The King was naturally eager to fight, as each day deprived him of a portion of his strength, and a great battle, even if it resulted in victory, must take away a part of the Prince's popularity. But the invaders were determined not yet to engage seriously ; and in the affairs which occurred between the advanced troops, as those of James were formed by the detested Irish regiments, and those of William by his British regiments, the invaders had the moral support of the sympathy of all Englishmen.

The first of these skirmishes occurred at Wincanton, and the Irish had certainly the best of the engagement, but were obliged to retire in consequence of hearing a report of the speedy arrival of an overwhelming contingent of the invaders.

But all danger of a serious collision between the two



armies was a few hours after this skirmish at Wincanton speedily set at rest. The long-prepared treason of James's principal officers was ready for execution. Churchill and some of the principal conspirators were at Salisbury; Kirke and Trelawney were at Warminster, where their regiments were stationed. The King was advised by Churchill to visit Warminster and inspect the regiments there. He was on the point of setting out, when his nose began to bleed violently, as James ever after believed, in consequence of the intervention of some averting saint, and he was forced to postpone his journey. But the real spirit of the army began to leak out. Feversham, the commander-in-chief, reported that the feeling of the troops was bad; and some even hinted that Churchill should be arrested. The King was now no longer eager for battle; he discussed the policy of a retreat, and on the evening of the 24th of November summoned a council of war. At the consultation, which endured till midnight, Feversham urged the necessity of retreat: Churchill opposed this view, but the King finally announced that he had decided to fall back. Churchill fancied that he was suspected, and before daybreak fled to the Prince's camp.

Next morning this desertion caused great confusion in the royal army. At the same time it was reported that Kirke at Warminster had refused to obey the orders sent him from Salisbury. In great consternation the retreat was commenced. The desertion of Churchill was quickly followed by many other officers, and the whole moral force of the troops was sapped. On the

25th the royal army retreated to Andover, whence the following morning Prince George of Denmark, the husband of the Princess Anne, and the Duke of Ormond also departed; the Princess Anne at the same time fled from London to the northern insurgents.

The King reached London on the evening of the 26th. Hence a negotiation was opened with the Prince, and royal commissioners were sent to his head-quarters.

In the meantime the insurrection spread; the eastern counties were up in arms; the men of Gloucester, in the Orange cause, with their pikes decorated with Orange ribbons and drums beating Lullibullero, occupied Oxford without any censures or opposition from the Tory university.

The Prince meanwhile moved to Salisbury, and from Salisbury on the 6th of December to Hungerford, where he met the royal commissioners. While head-quarters remained at Hungerford, a sharp affair took place at Reading between 250 of the Prince's troops and 600 Irish who occupied that place. The discipline of the assailants drove the Irish back on the first attack to the market-place. Here the defenders rallied, but, being assailed in front and fired upon in rear from the windows by the townspeople, were forced to vacate the place.

The negotiation opened by James with the Prince was but a feint to cover his flight to the Continent. On the 9th of December the Queen and Prince of Wales were sent away. On the morning of Tuesday, the 11th, the King himself, before daybreak, left Whitehall in a



hackney coach, crossed the Thames in a wherry at Millbank, and landing at Vauxhall, where a carriage was awaiting him, took the road to Sheerness. Here a hoy belonging to the Custom House was ready to take him on board.

As soon as the flight of James was known, London declared for the Prince ; and the Lords assembled in the metropolis provisionally assumed the government of the realm. By the King's orders Feversham disbanded the royal army, and thousands of soldiers were at once let loose without pay and without the restraints of discipline. To pass through these without a strong guard was impossible, and William could not hasten to London more quickly than his troops could march. In those days on the English roads an army could move only slowly.

Unfortunately, before the hoy upon which he had embarked could set sail, the King was captured by the mob of Sheerness. He was set at liberty by order of the Lords, and returned to London on the 16th of December. William was then at Windsor. The King proposed a personal conference with the Prince, but the proposal was declined, and James remained at Whitehall, while the Dutch advanced guard occupied Chelsea and Kensington. On the night of the 17th, three battalions of the Prince's infantry, with some squadrons of horse, advanced through St. James's Park, and their commander requested Lord Craven, who was in command of the Coldstream Guards on duty at the palace, to withdraw his sentries peaceably, and to allow the Dutch troops to take up the duties. Craven declared that he

would fight to the last for his charge ; but the King, with considerable magnanimity, for which he has hardly received due credit, commanded him to avoid useless bloodshed, and to withdraw his men. The palace was at once surrounded by the invaders' sentinels.

On the morning of the 18th James started, in accordance with a request of the Prince, for Rochester. While he was on his way the whole of the invading army poured into London, and that night Prince William occupied St. James's.

On the 22nd King James left Rochester and sailed for France. In February the crown was tendered to, and accepted by, William and Mary.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### INVASIONS TO RESTORE THE STUART DYNASTY.

AUTHORITIES :—Regimental Records of the British Army ; Allen's " Battles of the British Navy ;" Skene's " Highlanders ;" Browne's " History of the Highlanders ;" Burnet's " History of his own Times ;" Napier's " Memoirs of Montrose and Dundee ;" Macaulay's " History of England ;" " Records of the Chevalier de Johnstone ;" Mahon's " History of England ;" Stocqueler's " Familiar History of the British Army ;" Buckle's " History of Civilization ;" *London Gazette* ; *London Post-boy* ; *London Post* ; " Memoirs of Saint Simon ;" " Luttrell's Diary ;" Story's " Impartial History ;" " Mémoires de Berwick ;" " Story of an Officer of Dundee's Army ;" " Lockhart's Memoirs ;" " Lockhart's Commentaries ;" Hamilton's " Transactions of Queen Anne ;" Colonel Hooke's " Memoirs ;" Oldmixon's " History of Three Reigns ;" " Memoirs of Prince Eugene ;" " Macpherson Papers ;" Journals of the House of Commons ; Chambers' " Rebellions ;" Patten's " History of the Rebellion of 1715 ;" Grant's " Edinburgh Castle ;" Stewart's " Sketches of the Highlanders ;" Murray's " History of the Scottish Regiments ;" Duncan's " History of Royal Artillery ;" " Tales of a Grandfather."

THE Prince of Orange and his consort did not long remain unmolested on the throne. With the title of sovereigns of England they assumed that of sovereigns of Ireland, for the English advisers of William looked upon this island as a mere appanage of the crown of Great Britain. But James, during the three years of his reign, had made it a place of arms against England. By the time of the Revolution, the civil and military

power alike were in the hands of the Roman Catholics. The army of the Irish establishment was almost without exception of that belief. Tyrconnell occupied the post now held by the Lord-Lieutenant of the island. He was a firm adherent of the Stuart line, and in 1689 called the Irish to arms in support of the claims of James to the kingdom. The war so kindled was at first adverse to the Protestants, but its tide was stayed before the walls of Londonderry and Enniskillen, and rolled back from the valley of the Boyne. It would be foreign to the purpose of this work to trace the details of that contest, but the fact of its existence led to an attempted invasion of England.

In March 1689, James, supported by the power of France, landed at Kinsale, in Ireland, and soon afterwards, unopposed, triumphantly entered Dublin. The news of this event roused all the energies of the Government at Whitehall. Transports with troops under Kirke were quickly hurried to Lough Foyle; and ten thousand men under Schomberg soon followed across St. George's Channel, to aid the beleaguered Protestants of Ulster. Commissions were issued to raise five regiments of cavalry and eighteen regiments of foot. Many of these were subsequently disbanded. But to this struggle owe their origin the corps still known as the Enniskillen dragoons and the present seventh hussars. The infantry regiments then raised, which still exist, rank from the sixteenth to the twenty-eighth of the line inclusive. Among them is the celebrated Cameronian regiment, which was levied from among the Covenanters of the



western Lowlands, to serve against the Highlanders who were also in arms under Dundee for the cause of King James. In the following year, 1690, William determined to take the field in Ireland in person. All the regular troops that could be spared were marched to the Cheshire coast, and embarked at Highlake. Thirty thousand English and Dutch troops were soon concentrated in Ulster, but the energy of the offensive action against Ireland almost denuded England of a regular army. Scarce ten thousand soldiers were left to find the guards and garrisons, even at a time when there was no civil police, and the preservation of order in the streets of London depended on armed men, and the presence of sentinels around the palace was no mere pageant, but necessary for the exclusion of unauthorised intruders and the safety of the person of the Sovereign. So hard pressed was the Government for the performance of military duty that, though there was trouble in Scotland, the Scotch troop of Life Guards was marched to London, and with one remaining troop of English Life Guards, found the necessary services for the Queen at Whitehall.

The occasion was favourable for both insurrection and invasion. The Jacobite party was numerous and full of hope. Their agents were busy with intrigues throughout the country, arms were secretly collected and men silently mustered in the northern and western shires; malcontents were rife in Bath, Plymouth and Bristol, and in all the coffee-houses in London, and were trusting to the fall of the new dynasty. Jacobite emissaries lurked, even swarmed, in Hyde Park while the Queen was

taking her airing. A large French fleet was collected at Brest, and close beside the harbour a strong body of troops was massed to be transported to the shores of England. Special galleys were brought from the French ports in the Mediterranean to facilitate the disembarcation of the soldiers on the English beach. All that seemed requisite was that for a few hours the command of the Channel should be in the hands of the French navy.

To secure this advantage, scarcely had William sailed from Cheshire than the Comte de Tourville, with sixty-eight French sail of the line, and twenty-two fireships, took the sea. His vessels mounted 4,700 guns. As yet the French laid claim to the command of the seas, and their most formidable maritime rivals were not the English, but the Dutch. An English fleet was ready in the Downs to meet this force, but it was much inferior both in numbers and in the weight of metal of its artillery.

De Tourville, favoured by a gentle, southerly breeze, stood across the Channel and showed his force in front of Plymouth. The number of sail in his fleet could be counted from the towers of the fortress. Couriers hurried to London with the news. Messengers spurred hastily to every deputy-lieutenant within the county. Intelligence was also sent to the neighbouring shires. Hurried orders were given for the muster of the militia. From the gates of Bristol to the Land's End men were called to arms. But the French fleet, after being seen, gradually sank away below the northerly horizon, and



glided harmlessly along the coast. On a summer sea, filled by a gentle breeze, the white sails and tall masts of the foreign armament could be tracked from every sandstone cliff and every chalky down along the Devonshire and Dorsetshire coast. They swept along slowly under easy sail. Ever and anon the liners on the extreme left floated almost within cannon shot of the English shore. The far right of the line was lost from view below the white-crested waves to southward. Noiselessly and uninterruptedly they glided on. The white cliffs near the Needles and the bold downs of the Isle of Wight lay clear before them, when the French look-out men sang out that the English fleet was in view.

As soon as the panting couriers galloped into London with the news that the French fleet had actually been sighted from the fortifications of Plymouth, Lord Torrington was sent to take the command of the squadron in the Downs. He weighed anchor, and off St. Helen's was joined by the Dutch fleet, under Evertsen. Yet the two squadrons united did not show more than fifty-six pennants, and their united artillery was not one-fourth of the guns which under De Tourville's charge were being slowly wafted up Channel. Still the allied fleet moved forward till it too was close to the Isle of Wight. On the 26th of June, 1690, over 150 ships of war could be counted from the high cliffs of St. Catherine. On the left hand, in a long line, lay the English fleet, stretching from the flat shores of Hayling Island away to the south, on the right lay the fleet of France, extending in a still longer line into the haze that under the summer sun

dimmed the horizon. A great naval action was expected, and the country people flocked to the summits of the downs to witness the fight.

But Torrington thought the odds against him too heavy. His vessels, instead of bearing down upon the French line, were seen, on a signal from the flagship, to put about and slowly to bear up Channel. This was quickly reported to London, and orders were hurried to the Admiral to engage the enemy at all hazards. The despatch reached him when he was off Beachy Head. It placed the commander in a great difficulty. Not to fight was to be directly disobedient to orders, to engage was to risk the fleet, with it the safety of the coast, and the entrance to the Thames itself. He attempted a middle course; he desired to engage the enemy with some of his vessels, and to hold the remainder in reserve to avert a disaster. In war a middle course is usually a failure. In war when a blow is struck it should be struck hard and with all force. This occasion was no exception to the general rule.

On the 13th of June at daybreak, the long line of the French fleet could be made out by the English signalmen stretching across the Channel on the larboard tack, with the heads of the vessels pointing towards the high chalk cliff which, standing steep and prominent in the rolling waters of the Channel, forms the headland of Beachy. The English line of battle was quickly formed. In the van were placed the Dutch vessels, heavier and less easy of manœuvre than the English craft, but manned by seamen as bold and officers as able as ever fought for the



honour of the Batavian Flag. Next to the Dutch followed the squadron bearing the red cross of St. George, commanded by Torrington in person. The rearguard was formed by the Blue squadron under Rooke. All the ports were open, all the magazines were ready, the matches were lighted, and the gunners stood ready by the guns. A few flags were suddenly hoisted at the mast of the Admiral's ship. With one accord, on every vessel the sheets were loosed, the yards swung round, the English ships were put before the wind, and bore down towards the enemy's line. The Dutch were quickly engaged. Broadside after broadside was exchanged : the contending vessels were wrapped in a thick cloud of sulphurous smoke that hung over them like a dense white shroud. On the right of the French line the English Blue squadron also came soon into action. By nine o'clock the battle at either end of the contending lines became general. Many gallant deeds were done ; many a bold sailor received his death-wound ! On either flank was a continuous roar of artillery broken ever and anon by the sharp clatter of musketry from the marines in the tops or by the occasional explosion of a magazine. But in the centre there was a mysterious silence. The Admiral himself, with the Red squadron, did not close. When still beyond cannon shot of the enemy, his vessels suddenly tacked and hovered aloof during the whole day, beating fruitlessly backwards and forwards beyond the range of the battle. What was the cause of this inaction was never clearly explained. Torrington was afterwards tried, but was acquitted of blame, yet it is difficult to

perceive what motives could have hindered a naval commander in the hour of need from bearing down with all his forces to the assistance of his allies and his comrades. It is but fair to state that French officers who visited England during the subsequent peace, expressed their opinion that he acted to the best of his ability and by his cautious tactics saved the whole fleet from destruction.

The French perceiving the gap in the enemy's line pushed their centre through it, and, separating the Dutch from the squadron of the Blue, attacked both with far superior force. Both, though seriously outnumbered, fought with desperate energy till five in the afternoon, when they were forced to draw off, leaving one dismasted hulk in the hands of the enemy. Three Dutch and one English vessel were so severely handled that they went ashore, and had to be burnt by their own crews. Three hundred seamen and marines and a large number of officers perished. The allied squadrons could not keep the sea in the face of their victorious opponents. Torrington retreated in haste to the Thames, where he sought shelter, and had all the buoys removed to impede the navigation. Some of the Dutch fleet retired for safety to the shallow and difficult harbours of Holland.

Great was the dismay in London when the news arrived of the battle of Beachy Head. The English fleet had been driven from the waters of the Channel, and the enemy held undisturbed sway of the sea from the Land's End to the Nore. Between these points not a single vessel bearing the ensign of St. George could



show itself to impede a landing of troops on any part of the Hampshire or Sussex coasts. The capital itself was not safe. The passage of the Thames might be forced, the dockyards of Chatham and Sheerness be set in a blaze, and the merchant vessels near the Tower burnt. Every seaside village from Dungeness to Torbay might suddenly find itself the bustling base of operations for a French army of invasion. Nor were those alarms without occasion. A force of 30,000 French soldiers lay within an easy distance of Dunkirk, under the command of Marshal Humieres. Unfortunately the battle of Fleurus, won by the Duke of Luxemburg from the Allies, prevented the necessity of these men being sent to reinforce the French arms. They were free to act elsewhere; and good judges of war, among others Marlborough himself, surmised that they would be quickly embarked in Tourville's fleet and borne across to Pevensey or Folkestone. The first line of defence for England, the navy, was helpless and could not even show a front. The second line of defence was represented by barely 10,000 regular troops, chiefly recruits, who were no match for even only an equal number of veterans of France. The flower of the army and the pick of the officers were away in Ireland, engaged among the rolling hills and swampy valleys that lie near the Boyne. The militia had been much neglected since the Restoration. It had, indeed, been put under the Crown; but the Crown could not appoint to it regular officers, and those who commanded the local services had seldom seen a drill-ground and never a battle-field. There seemed no

reason that at any moment Kent, Sussex, or Hampshire might not become the theatre of war. The cathedrals of Winchester or Canterbury might in a few days be the stables of French cavalry. Every hamlet between the coast and the capital might be teeming with French grenadiers. Every manor-house might be the headquarters of a foreign division. The trim orchards might be hewn down for firewood or abattis, the tidy farm-houses sacked for plunder and provisions. Southwark itself might be alight, and foreign sentries challenge in a stranger tongue on London Bridge.

If such were the well-grounded fears of our ancestors when their navy no longer held possession of the Channel, how much more formidable would be the aspect of affairs at the present day! At that time no gay watering-places, no important harbour towns studded the southern coast. No crowds of steamers, carrying correspondence and great merchandise, daily swarmed from its ports. At present, if the British navy lost the command of the home seas for even twenty-four hours, the mere threat of a bombardment of Brighton would bring a fortune to an assailant; and the stoppage of our mercantile communications would be felt with an electric thrill from Hong Kong to San Francisco. Panic in the city of London would be the prelude to financial catastrophes throughout the country, and while the Exchanges of Liverpool and Glasgow vibrated with terror and dismay, the fall of public securities would throw hundreds of families into dire distress.

Nor would this be the worst aspect of our temporary



loss of the possession of the seas. Since the introduction of steam as the motive power of navigation, Liverpool is not now farther, for all practical purposes, from Cherbourg than 200 years ago Plymouth was from Brest. An active enemy who might nowadays hold the command of the seas for even a few hours, would send far and wide to levy contributions and spread dismay in all our seaport towns. The enormous wealth which Glasgow has collected on the Clyde could be heavily mulcted by a hostile ironclad which might be only a few hours off Greenock or Port Glasgow. Of the whole fleet of ocean-going steamers which hail from Liverpool, all within English waters would be at the mercy of an enemy's cruiser in the river Mersey; the town itself, the great emporium of our western trade, would be doubtless glad to purchase immunity from fire and plunder by an enormous tribute. Bristol would be an easy prey and a rich prize. On the eastern coast, Harwich and Hull would amply compensate for even a venturesome dash past the British fleet in the Thames; while farther north the defenceless ports of Edinburgh and Aberdeen would necessarily fall without a blow. Our assailants now would depend upon no favouring breezes, no fortunate tides. All that they would require in order to carry on their depredations for any length of time, till driven off by a superior force, would be coal, and this could be obtained from any seaport on requisition. Any commercial town would be glad not only to furnish this necessary material of war, but even to ship it in an enemy's bunkers, rather than see its public

buildings and its magazines fired by shells or razed by a bombardment. To such risks in case of war nearly all our seaports are now exposed, not only if our fleet were driven from the sea, but even if it were concentrated to give battle to an enemy. Their only true security would be to have the passages and entrances to their harbours and docks securely fortified, and so commanded by heavy fire that no cruiser could approach within cannon range of their treasures.

In war it is often forgotten that gaining a battle is not the ultimate success to be acquired. A battle should not be the end of an undertaking, but merely the stepping-stone to that end. The real results are those that ensue as the consequences of victory. Yet De Tourville appears to have committed the error of being satisfied with his success at Beachy Head. He did not lay waste the towns on the southern coast. He did not embark the army of Humieres and place it, ready to advance upon London, on the shore of Kent. He did not blockade the Thames or Portsmouth; he did not even despatch cruisers to levy contributions from the wealthy seaport towns. For many days after the action he contented himself with no more hurtful offensive movement than sending a few men ashore in Sussex, who published placards inviting the people of England, and officers of the army and navy especially, to espouse the cause of James. If the want of energy of the English Admiral during the battle of Beachy Head was curious, that of the French Admiral after the battle was gained was more curious still. He contented



himself with sending nine of his vessels back to Brest to escort thence part of the troops which had been collected near that town, and to convey them across the Channel towards a part of the Devonshire coast, far distant from London, the financial and commercial heart of the country.

Had the veterans of Humieres, immediately after the battle off Beachy Head, been landed in Kent and advanced rapidly on the metropolis, it is only too probable that the city would have fallen. The result would perhaps have been fatal to the dynasty, certainly disastrous to the country, but not nearly so disastrous as it would be in our time. A hostile army by now occupying Shooter's Hill or Hampstead, would not only command London, but would paralyse in a moment the whole trade and commercial activity of the island. An enemy's advanced guard, loopholed in the Bank and the Exchange, with London Bridge barricaded and Islington entrenched, could dictate any terms of peace. It is impossible to realize how many milliards might be demanded as the ransom of the few acres that lie around Guildhall. At the same time as London, Woolwich Arsenal must fall; not a single round of ammunition, not a solitary cannon, could be obtained by any native army in the field. The whole system of our military administration would come down with a crash. The Home Counties could be overrun without opposition, and the foreign cavalry could with impunity push their scouts and foraging parties to Oxford and Northampton. Two hundred years ago the capital was saved by the want of energy of the French Admiral. It would not

be safe always to calculate upon such a fortunate contingency.

As usual the spirit of the English people was roused by the imminency of danger, though, had the enemy been a little more bold, the rousing would have come too late. The wealthy city of London was foremost in the emergency. The Queen sent for the Lord Mayor, and asked him what could be expected from the city. He retired for an interview with the Aldermen, and after a brief consultation returned to Whitehall to inform her Majesty that London was prepared at once to pay one hundred thousand pounds into the exchequer, and that ten thousand Londoners were ready to march at a day's notice. The city was further prepared to raise without any cost to the crown six regiments of infantry, a strong regiment of horse, and a thousand dragoons. All that the city asked the Queen was to provide officers of the regular army for their force. These were scarce, for the reformado officers, as those on half pay were then called, were but few, and many had been already draughted into the newly-raised regiments. Fortunately, the train-bands of the city and the hasty levies of the Common Council were not called upon to meet in pitched battle the soldiery of France. Had such been the case, they would no doubt have fought stubbornly, they would no doubt have died doggedly; but how could they have performed the manœuvres necessary in a battle, how could they have changed front to face a flank attack, when they hardly understood one word of command or knew how to manage their firelocks?



Thinking men in England were fully impressed with the solemnity of the occasion. The capital was dull and gloomy, men moved slowly and listlessly about the streets, or gathered together moodily in small groups in the endeavour to seek from society that consolation which was nowhere to be found. All felt that in a few hours the French columns might be winding through the hop-yards of Kent, or tramping over the dusty downs near Guildford, with their heads converging towards the lower Thames. For three days all was depression and gloom. Torrington was sent to the Tower; but though this might tend to soothe the public mind, it could do nothing to avert the threatened disaster. On the fourth day flags were flying from the housetops and the churches. The bells clanged joyously in the steeples, men were smiling and shaking hands in the streets, candles were arranged in the windows for an illumination, faggots for bonfires were being raised in the corners of the squares, children were huzzaing and waving streamers in the pathways: the town seemed bent on carnival. That morning a hurrying courier had brought to Whitehall the tidings of the battle and victory on the Boyne.

But though the Protestant arms were crowned with brilliant success in Ireland, the victorious fleet of De Tourville still rode unopposed in the Channel. The defeat of the Jacobites in Leinster did not add one iota of security to the shores of the narrow seas. The tale of the battle of the Boyne might raise men's spirits, but the battle itself did not remove the danger

from their hearths. On the contrary, anyone versed in war would have believed that now it was more than ever necessary to divert William's attention from Ireland by a bold and rapid dash at his own capital. So after a few hours of spasmodic exhilaration, the hearts of the Londoners again grew heavy, and gloom settled on the country. The cloud was gradually renewed. Day after day passed by, yet no beacons flamed on the southern sky; the watchman on the tower of Westminster Abbey could make out no galloping horseman spurring a tired steed to bring in, dusty and panting, the news of a landing on the coast. The councils at Whitehall became less agitated, the drills of the train-bands at the artillery ground less incessant. It gradually grew apparent that the French admiral was losing his opportunity. Enormous efforts were made at Chatham and Sheerness to equip the fleet. Twenty-two troops of cavalry furnished by Essex, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, were collected and encamped at Hounslow. The militia of Kent and Surrey were called together and reviewed at Blackheath, and though victory could hardly be expected from these motley assemblages, yet the knowledge that armed men were at hand gave a certain sense of security. Loud then were the cries for more regular troops, especially from those who, when danger was not dreamt of, were most noisy in declaiming against a standing army.

James fled from Ireland directly after the loss of the battle of the Boyne, and landed at Besrt on the 9th of July. De Tourville, after his ineffectual demon-



stration against Sussex, returned with the great bulk of his fleet to Brest to convoy his flotilla across the Channel. To carry the land troops over the water, galleys had been brought from the Mediterranean. These were such as were used in the southern seas to wage maritime war against the pirate or the Turk. For such warfare they were well suited, for they were long and narrow, with but two feet of height between the water-line and the deck, and could run easily in shallow channels. On these galleys sails were rarely used, but each craft was propelled like the ancient triremes by fifty or sixty oars. At each of them five or six chained slaves toiled, urged to enormous exertion by constant blows with scourges, so devised as to inflict exquisite torture. Some of the unfortunate wretches who tugged at the oars were Mahometans captured in war, some were felons sentenced to penal servitude by the criminal law, several were condemned to this painful labour merely for an unswerving adherence to the Huguenot faith. In each galley there were three hundred and thirty-six slaves to propel across the Channel one hundred and fifty-five officers and soldiers. Much was expected at the French Court from the employment of these vessels, which had hitherto been strangers to any sea beyond the pillars of Hercules, and a medal was even struck at Paris in commemoration of their being adopted in northern maritime warfare. They were no doubt well suited for the rapid embarkation or disembarkation of troops through their low freeboard and small draught of water. They were well suited to

pursue the swift sailing pirate into the wooded inlets of Cyprus, or the many ports of the vine-clad islets of the eastern Archipelago under a serene sky and on smooth water. They might also be used with advantage to lurk for the unsuspecting Ottoman where the dark blue waters only with a tiny wave splash against the sun-burnt rocks of Valetta. But English seamen smiled when they were told of such an armament being fitted out to carry soldiers over the rough billows that burst against the granite buttresses of Cornwall, or under a murky sky lash with high foam the white spires of the Needles.

When the preparations for departure from Brest were complete, De Tourville drew his whole naval force towards Brest to convey the troops to England. The soldiers were embarked in their hazardous conveyances. A favourable wind and a gentle sea were awaited. Then the armament set forth, escorted by a fleet of one hundred and eleven sail. On the 21st of July the masts were counted from the high cliffs that look down on Portland. Here, had the French landed, the peculiar geographical formation of Portland Bill would have given them an admirable post in which to entrench themselves and await future reinforcements. Across the isthmus which connects the limestone peninsula with the mainland, lines could have been easily drawn, ditches excavated and ramparts raised that might have made a foreign occupation of Portland to England what a foreign occupation now makes Gibraltar to Spain.



For some unexplained cause here the French did not attempt a landing, but bearing away stood for Torbay. On the 22nd of July, the fleet cast anchor opposite where the watering-place of Torquay now stretches along the beach, with its long streets of glistening white houses. Then a mere fishing hamlet of a few thatched cottages stood on the ground, where now streets, shops, buildings, churches, and museums abound. Here England was seen to every advantage. Men from Gascony and Auvergne, who had been taught to believe that our island lay shrouded in fogs impenetrable, and washed by an ocean so gloomy that their influences morbidly affect the insular temperament, and conduce to frequent suicide, must have been undeceived and surprised.

In that portion of our island the climate is more in accordance with the shores of the Mediterranean than of the English Channel. During the winter, breezes, softened by a passage across the Atlantic, afford such a mildness of atmosphere, that the myrtle and arbutus grow as luxuriantly as they do in southern lands. Here the invalid can find a temperature, where through the whole winter open exercise is advantageous to constitutions which would be nipped and pierced by the rude air of our eastern shores. The fuschia flourishes all the year round, with no fear of being nipped by frost, and many plants that in other parts of the island fail to exist without artificial protection grow with impunity. Hence it is dut natural that the country is beautiful. The soft air and mild rains encourage a herbage of darker green than are often to be found even in this island, freely decked

with multitudinous woodland flowers of brightest hues ; and groves of beautiful shrubs, and noble forest trees stud the landscape, while heavy corn crops wave upon the open mountain sides. Now a great watering-place has arisen opposite to where De Tourville's ship lay, but then the small fishing hamlet, of some thirty squalid hovels, formed the only habitations on the site of what is now the gay and brilliant Torquay.

The view of the country was then as charming as it now can be. The large French fleet, with sails furled and anchors down, lay between the eastern point of Torbay and the bar stone. Between the two lines of the masted vessels the galleys, manned by their wretched oarsmen, and crowded with musqueteers and pikemen gay with feathered hats and the white livery of the Bourbons, rocked lazily on the summer sea. On the shore there was no English host to oppose a landing. A few fishermen gazed with awe from near the cottages on the strange armament, but no scarlet coats could be made out among the houses, no musquets or pikes glittered in the July sun, or even flashed here and there from a distant hedgerow or plantation.

The opportunity seemed favourable for a landing. The galleys could easily be dashed, by the exertions of their tugging rowers, almost as far as the water washed up the shelving beach. The soldiers could have leapt to the land nearly dry shod. No resistance was prepared, and Torbay, since the descent of William, might be regarded as a spot of fortunate omen for an invasion of England. But a strange quiet hung over the fleet ; no



signals ran up to order the galleys to close upon the shore ; no sharp trumpet's sound called the musqueteers to prime their pieces or to blow their matches. All remained still and inert till towards sunset the anchors were laboriously weighed, the sails were shaken slowly out to the evening land breeze, the loud cries and execrations of the taskmasters were heard urging the galley-slaves to exertion, while the long-boats were with difficulty turned about, and gradually took up their order between the tall liners. Then the masted vessels swung round before the wind, the galleys between them moved slowly away with a monotonous clank of oars, and the squadron slowly swept out of Torbay, rounded Hope's Ness, and glided into the darkness towards the North.

But the alarm had been given in England. The fishermen who marked the French fleet in Torbay and counted its vessels were not idle. The nearest Deputy Lieutenant was quickly warned. Every horse that could be found was rapidly saddled, and before De Tourville's anchors had touched the bottom, couriers were hurrying in all directions to call Devonshire and Cornwall to arms. The darkness which covered the movements of the French fleet aided a yet more rapid means of transmitting the news. As the long line of vessels bore up round the cape, which forms the inlet of Torbay on the northern side, quick eyes on shore noticed that each vessel changed her course and stood towards the North. It was clear that the destination must be some point on the Devonshire coast. The beacon above Torquay was

lighted, but had hardly blazed up when sheets of fire flared in answer from Thober Down and Halden Hill. High Tor and Camsland caught up the signal, and from hilltop to hilltop it flew with lightning speed, till London itself was alarmed. All the short summer night frequent lights in the windows, and a dull murmur in the streets, told that the train-bands were making ready to march at daybreak.

The alarm was quicker in the West. Early the next morning, five hundred yeomen and gentlemen were posted in arms on Halden Hill looking down on Teignmouth. Below them lay, near the mouth of the river, the small fishing town of that name, consisting of about forty turf-hovels, clustering round a Norman church. Beyond the river which flows in a narrow channel at low tide, between wide flats of mud, rose the red sandstone cliff of Tor Point, two hundred feet high, with an expiring beacon on its summit. On the sea in front lay the object of all their fear and hatred, De Tourville's fleet, with the white flag of the Bourbons waving from its hundred masts. There was now no hesitation on the part of the French commander. Signals were quickly hoisted and quickly answered. Hoarse words of command were heard rising from the galleys. The musqueteers were formed on the decks, the oars were laid in rest; after a moment's pause, the boats with a mighty splash dashed forward, and were run upon the beach. Here there was then but shingle and seaweed, now there is a fine parade, with broad walks, surrounding a neatly-kept turf and beds, gorgeous with



many-coloured flowers, to landward of which rise long rows of comfortable houses. The musqueteers and pikemen hurrying from the galleys formed their ranks upon the shore. The local cavalry on Halden Hill was incompetent to oppose their advance ; the columns were ordered, and directed their march over the sandy spit that separates the river harbour from the sea, and entered the village without opposition.

The inhabitants fled before the troops arrived, and the houses were found deserted. The word was given to plunder and to burn. The soldiers quickly separated, quitting the ranks to carry out their instructions. Some tore the thatch from the cottages, others penetrated the church, tore down the communion table, ransacked the sacristy for the plate, and jeeringly clothed themselves or their comrades in the sacred vestments. In a short time flames shot up from one or two points, and heavy smoke slowly curled upwards. The roar of flames and the noise of falling walls were heard as the fire swept away the cottages and surrounded the church. Its Norman walls and stout timbers were no protection against the flames which, fed upon the inferior buildings, burst on the larger edifice with enormous fury. Amidst the loud cheers and laughter of the foreign soldiery the walls came to the ground with a mighty crash and amidst a coruscation of sparks. The attention of the invaders was then turned to a few fishing smacks in the harbour, which were also burnt, to the great loss of their owners and not much to the improvement of the maritime supremacy of France.

The news of the arrival of the French fleet at Torbay had called all Devonshire to arms. From sea to sea the militia was arrayed, and long columns of armed men were pressing along every high road and every sandy lane with their faces set towards Torbay. By the evening of the day on which Teignmouth was burnt sixteen or seventeen thousand Devonshire men were clustering on Halden Hill. Nor were they likely to stand alone. Seven thousand of the tin-workers of Cornwall, a rude but bold multitude, had sprung from their mines, thrown down the pickaxe and the shovel, grasped the pike and the halberd, and were now hurrying eastward. The garrison of Plymouth had been roused, and Lansdowne, with a small detachment of regulars, soon arrived to take command at Halden. He was no tyro in the art of war, for he had served with distinction in the wars which pressed the Ottomans back from the gates of Vienna: nor was he wanting in courage, but he saw at a glance that the forces at his disposal were of no avail. One battalion of regulars could probably have swept the French land-troops off the shore as long as it was shielded from the fire of the ships, but to bring a hastily-formed mass of grooms, farmers, ploughmen, and weavers into contact with the French soldiery would have been little short of murder. It was impossible to attack the invaders. The only hope was perhaps to be able to bar their way at Halden Hill till regular troops might arrive to assume the offensive.

Fortunately, even so far, the militia was not put to the test. The French, having burnt and devastated



Teignmouth, did not make it a base of operations to push farther into Devonshire. The expedition was satisfied with the destruction of a poor fishing hamlet, and did not attempt the conquest of the country. After a few days, when the French troops had consumed all they could find in the few acres near the harbour, while Lansdowne on Halden sighed for regulars, De Tourville drew off his troops. The galleys were run out from the beach, the vessels formed line to cover them, and then the whole flotilla stood off towards the coast of France without a single shot being fired on English soil.

#### ATTEMPTED INVASION AND BATTLE OF LA HOGUE.

ON the 6th of March, 1692, William left England to urge on the military preparations of the allied powers on the Continent against France, and to make ready the united armies for the campaign which was made famous by the battle of Steenkirke. To the Queen were again entrusted the duties of a regency pending the absence of her consort. The departure of the King might have been delayed had it been certainly understood at Whitehall that at that very time the Government of Louis was making formidable preparations for an invasion of our island. Rumours had indeed reached England of troops being assembled on the coasts of the Channel, and of some collection of vessels in the harbours of Brittany and Normandy; but these were apparently either discredited or disregarded, for no attention seems to

have been paid to them. William not only quitted England himself, but about the same time sent to Flanders the great bulk of the regular troops on the English establishment that were fit to take the field.

It is curious to remark to what poor account the French turned the supremacy at sea which they had acquired by the battle at Beachy Head. Not only were the English dockyards not blockaded and the English mercantile ports not laid under tribute, but free passage for troops was allowed between the Thames and Holland, and open communication was continued between London and the Hague. It would have seemed the first step after a naval victory to have cut England off from the Continent and to have intercepted our communications with the mainland, where a campaign was in progress, for which recruits, reinforcements, and supplies were drawn from the island. Had De Tourville effectually interposed his ships of the line between the Nore and the coast of Zealand, he would not have inflicted so much damage on our country as a hostile fleet in the same position would at the present day, when our teeming population depends for the mass of its daily food on imports from abroad, but he would have separated from the army in Flanders a considerable and not the least efficient portion of the forces on which its commander depended.

It is difficult now to tell to what extent the policy of France towards England after the battle of Beachy Head was influenced by Louvois. That able minister of war seemed always to regard England as beyond



the theatre of hostilities. He was ever steadily opposed to an invasion of the island. His correct military ideas showed that an invasion, even if successful, could not very materially influence the war on the north-east frontier of France ; and in the collection of a fleet, the transport of soldiers across a stormy sea, and the hope of a Jacobite insurrection to aid a landing on the northern shore, there were too many elements of chance to suit the mind of a minister who ever desired to carry on operations with all of the mathematical certainty that skill, foresight, or preparation can impart to the conduct of war. Since the fall of the Roman Empire the world had never seen troops so well trained, so carefully equipped, so scrupulously provided, so scientifically led, as those of Louis the Fourteenth under the administration of Louvois. He united the abstruse talents of the strategist with the precision of an adjutant-general, and the calculation of a commissary-general. He was naturally averse to spasmodic and extended operations. He preferred to concentrate all his forces on the one decisive point, and the decisive point he perceived to be, not for the moment on the coast of Kent, but on the Scheldt or the Meuse. Could the allied armies be swept from Flanders and peace dictated at the Hague, England could alone but feebly injure France and could be dealt with when alone with full force and greater prospect of success. Louvois had already carried on two wars for Louis and was now engaged in the administration of a third. He had much political as well as administrative sagacity. To him the promises of

exiles were of little value. He well knew that men eager to regain power in their native land catch at straws of popular feeling, and endorse them as the great current of public opinion. He did not believe that the majority of the English people were athirst to rise in their masses in the cause of James as soon as the white flag was hoisted on the Cape of Portland or Portsdown Hill. If the people of England were so ready to welcome back the Sovereign whom they had expelled both from England and from Ireland; if the Jacobites were the powerful party in the state that they were represented to be at St. Germain, why had not England shown itself thus when two years before De Tourville's fleet swept the Channel unopposed and French musqueteers were already landed in Devonshire? Far different was their reception then from what James and his adherents insisted to Louis would be the case now, in the event of an invasion. When Teignmouth was burnt, the Jacobites so far from joining the invaders had hid their arms in hay-lofts or coal-cellars, had burnt their commissions from St. Germain, had hardly even ventured to show themselves in public, not so much from fear of the Government as from dread of the populace. Nothing had occurred which, to the mind of Louvois, showed a great change in English opinion. He believed that still the whole country would rise in arms against a French army with the exception of an insignificant Jacobite minority, that, though the English Militia was almost contemptible, it would improve as the war continued, that the French soldiers would have



perhaps to fight their way to London, would certainly have their communications with the coast constantly assailed, and even if installed at Westminster and Southwark, must hold the island for James as a subjugated province. Such were not his views of the proper conduct of the war or of the proper employment of the French forces.

Conspicuous as was the capacity of Louvois, Louis, with that singular jealousy of talented advisers which not unfrequently mars even great characters, often took his counsels ill. There were sometimes stormy meetings between the master and the servant. At one time the minister so far forgot himself as to dash his portfolio to the ground in the sovereign's presence. The King, equally forgetful of proper dignity, raised his cane, but his wife seized his uplifted arm, and hurried Louvois from the chamber, earnestly begging him to come back on the following day, as if nothing extraordinary had occurred. The minister returned the following morning, but pale and worn. It was his last interview with the sovereign whom he had served so well. That night he died.

Great was the secret rejoicing at St. Germain's; though etiquette required that mourning should be worn, and that condolences should be offered. Louis respected the memory of Louvois to his own cost, for it was considered necessary to bestow the portfolio of the war department on the son of the late minister. The Marquis of Barbesseux was still quite a young man; he had neither the ability nor experience requisite to

administer an army engaged at once in Piedmont, Catalonia, and Flanders. He cherished power solely as a means to obtain pleasures, and little recked of camp equipments or military provisions as long as his cups were plentiful and his mistresses abundant.

The efforts of St. Germain were redoubled. Loud boasts were made to Louis of the disaffection of the English fleet, of the power of the Jacobites in the north, of the hatred of the non-juring bishops, of the lukewarmness of the Church of England to a prince who was not even an Episcopalian, and little better than a sceptic. Perhaps these assertions influenced the French king, perhaps a feeling of chivalry towards a fallen brother prompted him. At any rate, formidable preparations for the invasion of England were begun early in the year. The dockyards of Brittany and Provence were actively employed, the arsenals of Toulon and Brest were set to double work, clothing was made, munitions of war were manufactured, and provisions, harness, and saddlery, were bought and collected at the necessary depôts.

The plan for the invasion was not ill-conceived, and with fair fortune might have been successful. But contrary winds and adverse gales, which, before the introduction of steam navigation, often stayed fleets and baffled calculation, prevented the surprise that would have been the best stepping-stone to success. A fleet of eighty ships of war was to be collected to convey the expedition across the Channel. Of these, forty-four were to sail from Brest, under the Count of Tourville, and were to be joined off Ushant by thirty-five more from



Toulon, under the Count of Estrees. The united fleet was then to sail to the peninsula, which, since the great Revolution, has formed the department of the Manche. There, not far from where the grand breakwater and noble dockyards of Cherbourg now teem with a forest of masts, a camp was being formed on the coast of Normandy, and transports were being collected for the conveyance of the troops thence to the opposite shore. The army being assembled here mainly consisted of the Irish soldiery, who, after the fall of Limerick, and the complete subjection of Ireland, had been persuaded to enlist in the French service. These were very different now from the squalid hordes which, without animal food, without proper arms, without brogues, almost without breeches, had fled from the Boyne, or been driven out of Athlone and Limerick, sneered at and despised by the French officers sent to aid them. Fed by the French commissariat, paid from the French exchequer, and clothed from the French arsenals, they were now well equipped for the field, and were to be commanded by their favourite leader, Sarsfield. The Irish mustered almost ten thousand fighting men, and to them were to be joined an equal number of French troops. The whole army was to be led by the Marshal Bellefonds.

The camp was formed: the Irish were collected, brigaded, and drilled, and the French troops were encamped near the shore; two forts named St. Vaast and Lisset, which already existed beside the beach, were hurriedly strengthened to cover the camp from any cursory demonstration by a hostile cruiser. By royal

decree from Louis all maritime trade and all privateering was suspended, so that almost every vessel hailing from French ports might be available to carry soldiers, or to guard the transports. Three hundred vessels were collected near the camp for the conveyance of the troops, and the very day of embarkation was named. It was believed that all preparations would have been completed early in the spring, while the English ships were still laid up, or at least were not half-manned or half-rigged, and before a single Dutch man-of-war had shown in the Channel. It was thus hoped that the expedition would not even fall in with the English fleet, nor would it have done so, had not contrary winds delayed for a long time the concentration of the squadrons from Toulon and from Brest. Yet the exiled king believed that even in the event of a naval encounter, the British sailors would not fight against him, or even if they did beat to quarters, would certainly engage with only half a heart, and in the course of battle would probably turn their guns against the Dutch. He had not only been their king, but he had been their Admiral. He believed with truth that he had been popular in the naval service, and his agents were only too glad to bring him stories of words spoken against the existing government by all ranks of the navy, from flag officers down to powder-monkeys. Such words were doubtless freely used, but James little knew Englishmen or English sailors, if he attached any importance to such fevered utterances. In neither the military nor naval professions in England have grumbings against the existing government at any time been



unfrequent ; they are often heard at the present day in the club, the ward-room, or the mess-house ; but any continental agent who imagined that even those who growl deepest would falter an iota in the hour of action would be woefully mistaken. James was equally in error ; he should have known that a rough sailor during a carouse would freely curse the government, anathematize the Dutch, and loudly proclaim his own grievances, but that in the morning this talk would all but be forgotten, and that he would be more likely to curse still more freely, any foreign agent who might tempt him to desert his ship, or betray his mates. The Court of St. Germain's did not understand, or if it did understand, did not weigh these national characteristics. But any story of disaffection that was brought in was eagerly swallowed, however wild, however improbable, and the emissaries who brought the nicest news were greeted with the sweetest smiles ; the temptation to exaggerate the goodness, and to palliate the unpleasantness of intelligence, was great, and was, of course, indulged, and consequently the truth was garbled or explained away until it was totally lost sight of. That there were Jacobites in the English fleet is certain. Russell, who was afterwards chosen as commander, is now well known to have been most favourable to the Stuart cause, but it is one thing to wish well to a cause, or even to aid a party by secret information or conveyed hints ; it is a totally different matter to go over in action, or what is still more difficult in the English service, to shirk an engagement. An admiral who might wish to take his fleet over to the enemy, must either have

the consent of his subordinates, and to arrange this, all discipline must be sacrificed ; or else he must give orders, which probably would not be obeyed, and would certainly be followed by his own execution.

In other ways, the Court of St. Germain's, at which no military genius, except Berwick, seems to have been consulted, was led into error, no doubt by the ever constant desire to hear things pleasant rather than to hear things exact. It was there imagined that as soon as James appeared on the English throne, thousands would flock to greet him ; that he would be received by joyous crowds with loud cheers, that the towns along his route to the capital would vie with each other in the size of their bonfires, the variety of their bunting, the numbers of their sylvan arches, and the length of their addresses ; that the country population would line the hedgerows, the hamlets would teem with women waving handkerchiefs, and huzzaing urchins : that England had awakened from the nightmare into which she had been plunged, that the country had at length shaken off the bonds of invincible ignorance, and was eager to hail the precious guerdon which for a moment she had ungratefully cast aside, and to welcome back to the throne of his fathers the now lamented, rightful, and anointed king. It is difficult to decide whether the fatuity which accepted, or the effrontery which solemnly asserted such rubbish as the truth, was the more despicable. It is extraordinary that the experience learnt two years before at Teignmouth had not taught a different lesson. What reason was there to believe that circumstances had



so widely altered? Why should the ploughmen and miners, who twenty-four months previously had rushed to pikes and scythes to repel the invader, now greet him with hat in hand and loud acclamations? Why should the yeomen and country gentlemen, who had mounted in haste and ridden to occupy Holden Hill, be now prepared to escort in triumph from country town to country town the monarch they had then hurried to repulse? The Court of St. Germain's was infatuated and deceived itself in believing that in the south of England there was any large party which would declare for James. Beyond the Trent, where Roman Catholics were more plentiful, and many even of the Protestant squires were enthusiastic Jacobites, a rising was, with more justice, contemplated. Arms were secretly bought, grooms and yeomen were privately enlisted, horses and saddlery were distributed, and the partizans of the Stuarts were formed into eight regiments of horse. It was expected that these would march across country and join James immediately on his landing, and consequently very few horses were to be taken with the expeditionary force. James was quite in error in supposing that he could win back his throne by a progress through southern England, unless, indeed, that progress was made at the head of an army which could overawe and keep down the inhabitants. Still, he might have, with good ground, believed that were his force once landed in England, it might, without much difficulty, reach London. He would be able to place on the south coast about twenty-one thousand fighting men in the best trim, which the best military administration in the world

could command. There were not ten thousand regular troops in England ; many of these were recruits, many must be kept to hold Plymouth, Portsmouth, Tilbury, and the remainder of the thirty-eight fortified places in the country. Not more than seven thousand effective soldiers at the most could be put in the field to oppose him. These, it is true, would be supported by a mass of militia, which, badly armed and badly trained, hardly knew the most ordinary movements of the parade ground. They were without any machinery for the supply of food, without any organization for the issue of stores or ammunition. They could have done little but cause confusion in action, and add to the carnage of a rout, if brought to battle against the steady musqueteers and unswerving pikemen of Bellefonds. The masses might have come, as a great historian says, they would with their scythes and pitchforks ; but scythes and pitchforks in the hands of undrilled masses are more baneful than beneficial when opposed to volleys from platoons or rounds from batteries. Another great error was made in the organization of the expedition. French troops would have been regarded by our ancestors as fair foes to be met in fair field ; but the Irish were a detested and execrated race. They were regarded not only as alien but as subjected and despicable. To be conquered by the French would not have been half so odious as to be subdued by the Irish. At such a thought the cheeks of even the Roman Catholics in England tingled with shame. Within two years, these Irish had been driven like chaff from the Boyne, had fled from the walls of



Enniskillen, and been cut to pieces at Aghrim. Their king himself had charged them with cowardice. But though cowards they were believed to be the most cold-blooded murderers and robbers. No atrocity was too great to be thought a mere trait of their national character. They would murder women and children, destroy all they could not carry away, and reduce Hampshire and Berkshire to the same conditions as they had reduced southern Leinster. Every plate-cellar would be emptied, every manor-house burnt, every homestead harried, and every church desecrated by these insatiable marauders. The charge of cowardice so freely brought against the Irish has been amply vindicated by subsequent military history, but our ancestors believed this, and more also ; and the presence of the Irish contingent in the expedition would have done more to alienate the people of England from the cause of James, than almost any other step which that ill-counselled sovereign could have devised.

James was already on the point of setting out for the point of embarkation before the preparations for the invasion were seriously regarded in England. It now became evident that the troops being massed on the cliffs of the Cotentin could not be mere recruits for the armies of the Low Countries, or of Spain. Vessels would not have been required to carry reinforcements to those points ; the bustle and excitement at St. Germain's was seen and reported by English spies. There could remain no doubt that an invasion of a formidable character was contemplated.

Vigorous preparations were at once made for the

defence of the country. The artizans at the dockyards were set to work in double tides ; every available rigger, every competent shipwright at Chatham, Sheerness, or Portsmouth, was busily engaged. Three large ships were hurried on to be launched for the first time. Flag officers were rapidly appointed, and at once commenced calling crews together. The few regular troops which could be put in the field were concentrated between London and the coast ; and a camp was formed on Portsdown hill, which looks down over Portsmouth. The militia throughout the country was called out. The trainbands of the City and of Westminster were arrayed and reviewed in Hyde Park by the Queen. Beacons were made ready along the coast, and watchmen placed beside the beacons. The defences of the strong places were rapidly looked to, old breaches were filled up, and new embrasures cut. All that hurry could accomplish to compensate for want of foresight, was done.

While these preparations were being made in England, James had gone to la Hogue, where the troops for the expedition were encamped. Here, at the fort of St. Vaast, he fixed his head-quarters, and the red cross of St. George, variegated with the flags of Ireland and St. Andrew, floated side by side with the white standard of the Bourbons. Before setting out, he published a declaration, which was, if not ill-timed, certainly most injudicious. In it he made no promises of alteration of government or of change of policy. He gave no signs of pardon being granted to those who had risen against him. On the contrary, the declaration seemed to threaten an



almost wholesale proscription of the nation. As such it was regarded, and as such it did a great deal to turn from his side many who but for the publication of this state paper might have not looked upon it with disfavour. It was notoriously disagreeable to Russell, who was to be Commander in Chief of the Fleet, who had been a Jacobite, and whom it was very important to conciliate.

The laxity of preparations in England was compensated for by the favour of the elements. The French fleet, which was to convoy the transports, failed to make its rendezvous off Ushant. Strong westerly gales held the squadron of Tourville wind-stayed in Brest harbour; the same winds headed Estrees, and not only made his struggles to tack through the gut of Gibraltar ineffectual, but drove three of his vessels on the African shore, where they were knocked to pieces by the waves against the rocks near Ceuta. During the pause thus allowed, the admiralities of the allied powers were active. Before the end of April the English ships were ready to take the sea. William had pressed on the maritime preparations of the United Provinces, and by the 29th of April the squadron from the Texel had anchored in the Downs. The divisions from North Holland, the Maes and Zealand soon followed, and by the second week in May the whole allied armament was off St. Helens. The English fleet was under the command of Russell, who hoisted his flag on board the 100-gun ship *Britannia*. His vice- and rear-admirals of the Red were Sir Ralph Delaval and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Those of the Blue, Sir John Ashby and Richard Carter. The English fleet carried 4,500

guns, and more than 27,000 men. The Dutch fleet, under the command of Van Allemonde, carried 2,500 guns, and 13,000 men. Never before had such a powerful armament been seen as that which early that May floated in the Channel. In three long lines the wooden castles lay ; of nine the sides were pierced with ports for less than fifty guns ; while five, the *Britannia*, *Royal Sovereign*, *London*, *Victory* and *Windsor Castle*, carried 100 guns in triple tiers. The paint was fresh, the spars were clean, the rigging taut, the sails of snowy white : all was fresh from the dockyard, the material was the best that England could command ; the men were the best that England could produce. Ninety-nine pennants quivered in the breeze, every one borne by a stately sail of the line. It must have been a noble sight from some of the high chalk cliffs that border on the Channel to have seen this mighty armament, as if by an act of volition, shake out all its canvas to the wind on a bright May morning, and slowly glide towards Spithead, where all cast anchor at the end of the second week in May.

The French fleet was inferior to the English in number of ships, when, after long delays, early in May it came together off Ushant, although its largest vessel, the *Soleil Royal*, carried 104 guns. The total number of line-of-battle ships was but sixty-three, the exact number of the English if they had not been joined by the Dutch ; in weight of metal the French vessels were slightly superior to the English alone.

Considerable anxiety was felt in London as to the temper of the English fleet. Several councils were held,



when it was discussed whether some of the officers should not be suspended on account of their doubtful allegiance to the new dynasty and reputed Jacobite proclivities. The Queen, however, wisely decided that to accuse any would solely have the effect of converting those who might be doubtful subjects into certain rebels. A letter was written to the Admiral, in which it was said that though reports had reached the Queen's ears of the disaffection of some of the officers, she would not believe such calumnies against brave men, and placed with confidence the conduct of the fleet and the safety of the country in their hands. This letter was read to the officers who were assembled for the purpose on the quarter-deck of the *Britannia*. It was greeted with enthusiasm, and an address immediately subscribed by which the officers pledged themselves to support Her Majesty against all foreign or Popish enemies.

This protestation was soon put to the test. On the 18th of May the united fleet weighed anchor and set sail from Spithead. Scarcely had it cleared the Isle of Wight, with the intention of standing across to harass the French coast, and of forcing the Count of Tourville to come out to fight them at daybreak on the 19th, when, Cape Barfleur lying to the south-west, the masts of the French fleet were made out to eastward. The morning was very hazy, and at first it was impossible to determine in which direction the enemy's vessels were sailing, but by four o'clock the sun had dispelled the haze, and the French were seen to be forming line. The English line was also formed with the Dutch in the van, Russell himself in the

centre, and Ashby in rear. The wind was from the south-west, but was falling very light, and the French admiral might have delayed the engagement had he so chosen. But Tourville was determined to fight. After the battle of Beachy Head he had been taunted with over-caution, he had been told that he had not the courage to face responsibility, but merely the boldness shared by every seaman under his command. He was resolved not again to make the same error, or to subject himself a second time to the same reproaches.

A little after ten the whole French fleet bore away together before the wind and came down upon the English centre. The English van and rear were too far distant to enter into the battle, and for a time the French were met by a force not superior to their own. They advanced to within musket shot, and then the *Soleil Royal* slowly bearing round, opened fire on the *Britannia*. Instantly the guns flashed and roared from every port; heavy clouds of smoke hung around the vessels, which was pierced by the flashes of the guns, but could not be carried away by the light breeze that gradually fell away till a perfect calm came on. Under the thick cloud of smoke the English seamen plied their guns with such rapidity that they poured three broadsides into the enemy for every two received. Both sides suffered seriously, and on both sides vessels were severely handled. For an hour and a half the battle was maintained by the English Red squadron alone, against the whole French fleet; by that time the *Soleil Royal* was much cut up in sails, spars, and rigging. Then a heavy



fog slowly settled down. The battle was stayed and the firing was suspended, as the weather was so thick that it was impossible to distinguish friend from foe. As yet, on account of the light breeze and the subsequent calm, the rearward English ships had been unable to get up to the battle, though all the boats were out ahead towing, but at half-past seven they closed in, the fog cleared off a little, and a distant cannonading commenced, which lasted till half-past nine, when the ships were lost in darkness and in fog. During the action four of Tourville's ships were burnt by fireships, the remainder were so much injured that it would have been hopeless for them to endeavour to stand against the now united allied squadrons. So the French, knowing that with the light winds that might be expected they could hardly stem the flood that runs up Channel, anchored with all sail set; and when in the night a light air sprang up from the eastward, they slipped their cables and stole away. The allies who had furled sails on anchoring, lost considerable ground in the pursuit, but on the morning of the 20th a part of the hostile fleet was seen, and a general chase began. The wind blew light from the east, every stitch of canvas which the tall spars of the allied liners could expand to the breeze was hoisted; the sails were freely drenched with water, to afford a more unyielding surface to the air, but the utmost exertions failed to bring the Dutch or English ships within gunshot of the French, who used every possible exertion to gain the friendly havens of Brest or St. Malo. In the afternoon the light easterly wind fell wholly away, and

a gentle breeze sprang up from the south-west. This made tacking necessary. Still the French bore slowly away under a full crowd of canvas, still equally persistently the allied vessels held after them in pursuit, till about four in the afternoon, the ebb-tide having ceased, and the wind being too light to carry the huge hulls of the vessels against the flood, both fleets anchored and furled sails. Towards eleven at night, when the tide again ebbed, the English fleet weighed anchor and again plied to the westward.

In the night the enemy was lost sight of, but at five in the morning of the twenty-first, when the fleet again anchored to the northwards of Cape la Hogue, the look-out men in the English vessels made out twenty-three French ships anchored near the Race of Alderney, and fifteen more could be descried lying about three leagues farther to westward. The wind still blew softly from the southwest, and soon after anchoring the flood tide came strongly up Channel. Under its influence, aided by the wind, fifteen or twenty of the French ships, anchored near Alderney, began to drift and were borne in a short time to leeward of Cape la Hogue. Three of them managed to get into Cherbourg. Russell, whose flagship, the *Britannia*, had lost her fore-topmast during the previous night, and was consequently left some distance to the eastward of the main body of the allied fleet, made signal to Delaval to stand in-shore and destroy the French vessels which had sought shelter in Cherbourg. Delaval stood in and found three French three-deckers, including the *Soleil Royal*, aground close to the



beach and surrounded by rocks. His own vessel drew too much water to approach sufficiently close to the stranded vessels, but he shifted his flag to a smaller ship, the *St. Albans*, which carried only fifty guns, and, accompanied by the *Ruby* and some fire-ships, bore down towards the three-deckers on the beach. The French opened a galling fire from the triple tiers of guns in their seaward portholes, the navigation was difficult and dangerous, and the Vice-Admiral was forced to stand out again, and more carefully mature his plans for the attack.

For the moment he was baffled, but was not foiled. Next morning, having collected the ships which drew least water, he stood in again, but the English sailors did not know the proper channel, and the water gradually shoaled till at length the lead showed only four fathoms. To approach nearer the shore with ships of the line was impossible. Three fire-ships were selected to carry out the enterprise, and on one the Vice-Admiral himself embarked. One of the fire-ships as it approached was sunk by the French guns and went down. The two others succeeded in getting close up to two of the French ships and set them on fire. The third was deserted by its crew; the English seamen quickly poured into her. A large number of dead and wounded were found between her decks. These were carefully removed to the shore, and then she too was set alight. For some hours the conflagration lasted. At first the flames made but little impression on the hulls, but, gradually acquiring power, they burst in force out of

the portholes, and, running up the rigging, wrapped the masts and spars in fire. As each loaded gun was reached, it went off with a loud report, and when the powder-rooms were invaded by the fire, they blew up with a fierce explosion which shattered the hulls and brought down the masts, sails, and rigging on to the beach, a mere mass of expiring sparks and decaying embers. The French crews looked on in helpless astonishment. They could do nothing either to drive off the assailants or to check the flames. The English waited till the fire had done its work, and then leisurely, with measured oars and loud cheering, drew off to their vessels.

The other French ships that drove managed to reach the harbour of La Hogue, close to which the troops were encamped. It was hoped by the French commanders that safety would be there secured under cover of the forts and protection of the land forces. Nine vessels, the anchors of which held fast near Alderney, fled through the dangerous channel named the Race, close beside that island, and gained shelter in the harbour of St. Malo. The passage of the Race was known only to clever French pilots, the seas were stormy and the rocks dangerous, so that Ashby was unable to follow them, and finding that these vessels had eluded him went, on the morning of the 22nd, to join Russell off La Hogue. At noon on the 23rd the combined fleet approached La Hogue. The signal was made from the flagship for all the boats of the fleet to be manned and armed and proceed to the destruction of the vessels in the harbour. Rooke was ordered to take the command. As night



closed in, all the boats, with steady swing of oars, covered by the guns of the frigates, proceeded to the attack against the French vessels, which were drawn up high and dry on the sands near the forts of Lisset and St. Vaast. Notwithstanding the severe fire from the forts and the ships, the boats pulled steadily in towards the shore, the crews cheering and the officers waving their swords. The French troops made but little resistance; a few shots were fired wildly, then a panic set in, and the land troops fled from the shore. Six of the vessels were boarded with little loss. The English seamen swarmed into them over the bulwarks and through the portholes. As rapidly as the English rushed in the French crews poured out on the landward side. The boarded vessels were quickly in flames, and seamen who had set them alight, with bare cutlasses guarded them from any attempt at re-capture till they were totally consumed. The remaining vessels were farther up the beach, and being protected by the troops that had now been rallied, could not at that time be destroyed.

The following morning the boats returned to the attack, and burnt all the vessels left on the preceding night. In all, sixteen large sail of the line and many transports were destroyed. Those destroyed were the *Soleil Royal*, *Ambitрева*, *Admirable*, at Cherbourg; at La Hogue, *Tonnant*, *Terrible*, *Magnifique*, *St. Phillippe*, *Cinqué-rant*, *Triomphant*, *Amiable*, *Tier*, *Glorieux*, *Sérieux*, *Trident*, *Prince*, *Sans Pareil*, and another.

With little loss was this achieved, for the English had

only ten killed. When the vessels were in flames and their destruction assured, the line of boats was again formed, and with measured order the flotilla slowly rowed back towards the fleet, insulting the hostile camp upon the shore with a thundering chant of "God save the King!"

The victory of La Hogue deterred for several years any further attempt at the invasion of England. The troops collected in Normandy were sent to Spain or the Rhine frontier, and were, till the Peace of Ryswick, employed in the continental wars of the French sovereign.

#### ATTEMPTED INVASION OF 1708.

THE project of an union between Scotland and England caused great discontent in the northern kingdom, not only on the part of the Cavalier or Country Party as the Jacobites called themselves, but also among the Presbyterians and Cameronians. There were many enlightened Scotchmen who perceived the enormous advantages that must accrue to their country from a close union with the sister kingdom; but these were chiefly found among the nobility who had favoured the revolution, or in the mercantile community that desired the extension of trade. But the rural population and the partisans of the Stuarts were alike hostile to the scheme. Both were partly influenced by a feeling of stubborn patriotism which revolted at the idea that Scotland might be made subject and subordinate to her



larger neighbour. But two very antagonistic reasons drew both more powerfully to a common conclusion. The Cavaliers feared that if the union were completed the succession to the crown of Scotland must necessarily be regulated by the same measures as that to the throne of England. They were well aware of the power of the party that was determined to strain every nerve to secure the sceptre to the Elector of Hanover, and they recognized how much more difficult it would be to drive the Elector from the throne of Great Britain when once established there than to prevent his accession to it. The Presbyterians were urged by very different views. To them it seemed that the conclusion of the union meant the establishment of the Episcopalian religion in Scotland and the subjection if not the suppression of the Kirk. The interests of their ministers were deeply touched, and from every parish pulpit fiery denunciations were thundered out against the accursed treaty. The Kirk, for which so many martyrs had suffered and died, was threatened : it was the duty of every one of her sons to stand by her in the hour of her danger. What if bishops should be empowered to frame a new confession of faith ; if the liturgy of England should be imposed and formal prayers mumbled by little better than Popish priests, arrayed in vestments and claiming the power of absolution, in every kirk in Clydesdale or Annandale ! Such exhortations were not without avail on the Presbyterian congregations, and the sons of the Covenanters made deep resolve that the union must not take place.

Affairs on the Continent at the same time inclined the French King to encourage and even to aid the discontented factions in Scotland. The arms of Louis were much pressed by the victories of Marlborough, and the Court of Versailles felt disposed to effect a diversion in Britain by abetting a rising in the north in aid of the exiled Stuarts. Communications were accordingly opened between France and Scotland, and already, in 1705, Colonel Hookes was sent from the former to the latter country with letters from the French King and the Chevalier to various Scotch noblemen, who were exhorted to stand up for the interest of the distressed royal family. Louis also promised to assist the Scots his dearly beloved ancient allies, in so good a design as restoring their king to his throne, and empowered Hookes to receive proposals and to ask for some one to be sent by the Cavalier leaders to France fully instructed to treat.

This Hookes had been one of the Duke of Monmouth's chaplains when the latter invaded England. Whether on the defeat of that enterprise he was taken prisoner and pardoned or made his escape is not known, nor is it certain when he became a Catholic or entered the French service. By the time of his mission to Scotland he had risen to the rank of colonel, and held the command of a regiment of foot, was possessed of considerable credit at the Court of Versailles, and was employed to manage the correspondence with Scotland. But however skilful he may have been as a letter writer he was not well adapted to be a negotiator. He desired to assume



the position, not of an emissary from a foreign prince, but of a director of the councils of those to whom he was accredited; he desired to be admitted to the secret conclaves of the Cavaliers that were held in Pat Steel's coffee-house at Edinburgh; he aspired to dictate the policy of their party, and was so little impressed with the importance of secrecy and caution in so delicate an affair, that he actually urged the leaders of the party to move for the restoration of the king in the Scotch Parliament. Had his ardour prevailed and such a course been adopted, the motion would have been negatived without a division, the Jacobite party been rendered ridiculous, and its tactics greeted with a shout of laughter from Glasgow to Whitehall.

The leaders to whom the letters and messages brought by Hookes were delivered, assured him in general terms that they were ready to do everything in their king's cause that could in reason be demanded of them, and that an agent would, as he desired, be sent to France to confer with King James and the French ministers. With this answer, which showed considerable mistrust of himself and a desire to deal with all matters of importance through an emissary from Scotland, Hookes returned to Versailles.

Accordingly in the following year, Captain Henry Stratton set sail from Leith, and arrived safely in France. At the same time, the Tories in England were sounded as to what line they would adopt if James came over and the Scots declared for him, but they were found to be extremely cautious and not nearly so

forward in the cause as their Scotch neighbours. In France, Stratton was kindly received, but could bring nothing to a conclusion, for the battle of Ramillies had disconcerted the plans of Louis so much that he was then in no condition to spare either men or money for the service of the Chevalier of St. George. He was dismissed with assurances from James that he longed extremely to be among his Scotch friends, and with fair promises from Louis of doing all that could be expected at another time.

Meanwhile, the Court party in the Parliament of Scotland urged forward the measures for the union, not without considerable opposition and tumult. The mob of Edinburgh imagined that if the Act were passed, their town, which had little trade and derived its importance from being the capital of the country and the seat of the Parliament, would sink into insignificance. Riots became frequent; apprentices and students swarmed in the streets during every sitting of the House, cursed and railed the Commissioner as he passed to his lodgings, cheered the Duke of Hamilton who opposed the treaty, and broke the windows and ransacked the house of the Provost. The Court party retaliated by calling out the foot guards, who seized the Netherbow port and occupied the Parliament Close. Members passed in and out through rows of musqueteers with loaded arms; strong bodies of the horse-guards perpetually escorted the Commissioner, but could hardly, with blows from the backs of their swords, keep the crowd off from assaulting his person. The whole army in Scotland



had to be drawn together near Edinburgh, so serious did these riots become. Proclamations were issued against tumultuous meetings, and orders were given to the guards to fire upon any who did not quit the streets at the sound of the beat of drum. Addresses were sent in from many parts of the country against the union; at Glasgow, when the Provost and town council opposed the signing of one of these, the mob rose, took up arms, and drove the magistrates from the town; it was only on the arrival of a detachment of dragoons that order was restored, and the leaders, who were of very humble rank, were taken as prisoners to Edinburgh Castle. The western shires, where the Cameronians were numerous, were in a ferment. A body of between two and three thousand men from Kirkcudbright, Galloway, Clydesdale, Ayr, and Dumfries, marched armed to the town of Dumfries, and there publicly burnt the articles of the union at the Cross. In these same counties the Cameronians had many meetings, divided themselves into regiments, chose their officers, provided themselves with horses and arms, and were even willing to concert measures with the northern counties and the Episcopal party for the restoration of the Stuarts. They were willing to pass over their former deep objection to the king being a Papist, for they argued according to the doctrine of predestination that Heaven might convert him, or that he might have Protestant children; but that the union never could be good.

Nevertheless, the Court party were able to carry

their measure, and the union was established on the 1st of May, 1707. The Jacobites were not disheartened, they still hoped to be able to annul the compact and to restore the Stuarts to the throne. An Act for the supremacy of the Kirk, judiciously inserted by the Government in the Act of Union, had a great effect in calming the opposition of the Presbyterian ministers; but their flocks had taken the matter too seriously to heart to be swayed again, and the ministers, in endeavouring to support the union after their own interests were secured, achieved little in favour of the cause they now advocated, but did a good deal towards losing their influence with their congregations. The Cameronians who had always been a sect intolerant of subjugation even to their own Presbyters, were not to be turned from the course they had adopted. In the western shires, where they predominated, an universal expectation arose of the coming of King James, and by the multitude he was eagerly expected. Private delegates from each parish met and concerted measures together, some of their number were specially appointed to collect intelligence, and the officers were named who should lead them till the nobility and gentry took the command. Arms were being made in many places, and agents appointed to buy horses acted so energetically that twelve hundred good horses were brought over from Ireland and were distributed among the common people. In Clydesdale, where the horses were even then famous, the farmers offered to spare each one or two of their best horses from work so as to have them in good



condition for war against the time of the coming of the king.

All this stir was loudly proclaimed by the Jacobites to manifest the true feeling of the body of the Scotch nation. By their opponents it was described as a mere ferment stirred up and incited by the partisans of the Stuarts. No one can deny that the latter party argued with the more justice. The mobs that disturbed Edinburgh and Glasgow consisted of but apprentices, shop-boys, and the stray population which is ever to be found on occasions of excitement adverse to order. The men who marched to Dumfries and there burnt the articles of Union were but ploughmen and cottagers, they were not even led by a single nobleman or gentleman of distinction. But the stories of these disturbances were eagerly carried to Versailles, and, as stories at all times, lost nothing of their importance in their passage. In France they were so far credited that the king, either with a hope of restoring the Stuart line or with the idea of striking a blow against England in Great Britain itself again sent Hookes to Scotland.

The part of an exiled prince, desirous of regaining his throne, is one extremely difficult to play. He must conciliate each party if possible, and in his endeavours to do so not unfrequently repels all. Each leader, or important personage, who joins the cause of the Pretender, imagines that he alone should be heard, and that his counsel only should be adopted. Personal jealousies spring up between those who should be closely united in striving after a common end ; and schemes, which at the outset promise

well, not unfrequently collapse, through the intestine rancours of those who most earnestly wish them to succeed. Such was the case in Scotland at this juncture. Two great noblemen, the Dukes of Hamilton and Athole, were both favourable to the cause of the Chevalier, but a high personal jealousy existed between them. Each desired to be the Monk who should bring back the banished sovereign to his native land, and each grudged the other any important share in the transaction. When Hookes landed in the northern part of Scotland early in March, 1707, he fell in with members of the Duke of Athole's party. By these he was received and honoured as an ambassador, and openly avowed his errand and his business. He brought with him credentials from the French king, which empowered him to treat with the people of Scotland in order to bring about a restoration ; but he also brought a more practical message in the shape of a paper from De Torcy. In it definite queries were made as to how many men could be raised in Scotland, and what conveniences existed in the country for the provision of troops, with meat, clothes, and quarters, as well as what prospect there was of capacity to carry on the war when once commenced ; and what amount of arms, men, and money must necessarily be sent from abroad. A categorical answer was compiled to De Torcy's questions, and James was earnestly requested to come over as soon as possible. This paper was signed by sixteen noblemen and gentlemen of Athole's party, and was lodged in the hands of Hookes to be taken to France. The party of Hamilton was not consulted, and was naturally disgusted ; they



had borne the labour and heat of the day, and saw themselves now passed by when the hour of triumph approached. Hookes had certainly brought letters to Hamilton and the Earl Marischal, but before these were transmitted, he was already committed deeply to Athole's party, and these noblemen, indignant with his conduct, transmitted their answer by another hand. The seeds of a quarrel were already sown, high words rose freely on both sides. Hamilton and his friends were called cowards and said to be lukewarm, Athole and his followers were declared rash and presumptuous. Such bickerings could have been disregarded, but an important fact to the French ministry was, that, while Hamilton declared that no success was feasible without the presence of ten thousand French troops, and that a faint attempt was worse than no attempt at all, Athole held that the cause could be gained with the aid of six thousand foreign musqueteers. Hamilton, living in the Lowlands, foresaw the difficulties and dangers of the enterprise, and was well aware that if the sword was drawn the sheath must be thrown away; Athole overrated the power of the clansmen, and imagined that an incursion of the Highlanders, supported by a French brigade, would settle the matter.

Hookes arrived in France from Scotland in May. August was then fixed as the time for the expedition, but for various reasons it was deferred, and though many dates were determined on, it was continually put off, till, in the following January, many in Scotland gave up hopes of its being undertaken, and Hamilton himself set

off for England. He had not been three days on his journey, when he received a despatch from Stratton, to tell him that letters had come to Scotland, which declared the enterprise to be determined upon, and that it would take place before the middle of March. He had now a difficult decision to make. To go forward on his journey was to apparently abandon the Stuart cause, to go back would excite the suspicion of the Government, and would possibly lead to the detection of the whole scheme. He determined to proceed, with the intention of forcing his way back to Scotland, as soon as James should land, when Lockhart of Carnwath was to raise the shire of Lanark and join him at Dumfries. There they were to assemble a force from the Stuart partisans of the western shires of Scotland and the borders of England, and hold the frontier against the English forces till an army was formed in Scotland.

It was expected by the Jacobites that in that country thirty or forty thousand men would be enrolled for James. The regular troops did not exceed two thousand five hundred men, and it was expected that of these two thousand would go over as soon as the Chevalier landed, and that the very Guards of the Commissioner would be found ready to escort him. The garrisons of Stirling, Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Inverlochy were unprovided with ammunition or stores, and were expected to yield at the first summons. The equivalent money paid to Scotland on the Union was lodged in Edinburgh Castle, and would afford abundant means for raising men. A Dutch fleet had some time before run ashore on the



coast of Angus, wherein there was a quantity of powder, cannon, and money, which the gentry of the neighbourhood were to seize. An artillery train, called the train for North Britain, had been formed on the Union, but there were no conductors or matrosses with it, and it was unfit to take the field. Edinburgh Castle was destitute of warlike stores. The magazine of arms placed there in the time of Charles the Second had been long since exhausted, many of the cannon had been removed since the Union, and for those that remained there were but four rounds of powder in store. At Versailles, a plan of the Castle had been laid before a board of general officers and experienced engineers, who unanimously agreed, that with the troops, cannon and mortars which could be sent with an expeditionary force, the fortress must be carried within three days, even if properly garrisoned. The very plan of attack was arranged. A false demonstration was to be made against the postern, while a brigade of three battalions, after storming the *tête de pont* and other outworks on the Castle Hill, was to make a lodgement under the Half-Moon Battery. The regalia and equivalent money would then fall into the hands of the assailants : with the latter men could be raised, and to lead these, four hundred officers, who had served in the wars of Italy, were to be sent from France, with the former two Protestant bishops were to crown the Chevalier King of Scotland, in the high Church of Dunedin.

The great bulk of the English army was at this time on the Continent ; in England there were barely five

thousand men, and of these the majority were newly raised. The Jacobites hoped that factions and jealousies between rival parties would create great confusion, as each party would suspect the other of being privy to the design. These hopes were at least visionary, but there is no doubt that England was by no means ready for either an invasion from abroad or a rising at home. The policy of James was to hasten to Scotland with arms and ammunition, and as many regular soldiers as he could obtain to march direct on Edinburgh, proclaim himself king, declare the Union null and void, and publish a manifesto promising to govern both kingdoms according to the established laws, and to provide for the security of every religion, and then as soon as he could form an army to march into England. It was apparent to all far-seeing Jacobites, as it must be to all who review the case at the present day, that the success of the enterprise depended mainly on the regular troops that the Pretender could bring with him. The hasty levies of the Jacobites or Cameronians could have been of little avail against the regular troops of the Government. This was well known, and hence the urgent representations to France to send troops as well as arms and money. Even the most sanguine in the cause of James did not estimate the necessary contingent from France lower than one thousand men less than the total force of soldiery in England and Scotland, the more prudent wished it to be considerably superior in numbers. In our time it might be wise conversely to remember that hasty levies, or recruits hurried through their drill,



would be no match to defend the island against veterans inured to war, and led by captains of European fame.

In the latter part of February 1708, news came to England that a French fleet was being prepared at Dunkirk to make a descent on Scotland. Twelve battalions and a train of artillery and supplies were reported to be ready to take part in the invasion, and intelligence soon after arrived that the Pretender had gone from Paris to the port of embarkation to personally conduct the enterprise. The French fleet assembled at Dunkirk consisted of twenty-six ships, of which most carried more than forty guns. It is wonderful that a secret in which so many were concerned, was so well kept in Scotland. The English Government had been made aware that there had been a correspondence with France, but had been unable to obtain any tangible proofs of an intended rising; and when the French preparations were discovered, all Europe, except Scotland, was amazed. Holland feared that the English army would be recalled, and that her own territories would be laid open to the French. In Scotland the news brought great hopes to the Jacobites, who offered up prayers for a happy voyage, and the gentlemen favourable to the cause of the Chevalier, slipped away from Edinburgh to be ready to raise their tenants and neighbours as soon as the prince should land.

The consternation caused in England by this intelligence was great. The English ships were indeed ready rigged and fit to put to sea, but they were not half manned, and there was no apparent prospect of being

able to procure seamen before the French might have crossed the Channel. Fortunately, at that very moment a fleet of merchant vessels came home with their convoys, the sailors that manned them were partly persuaded, partly pressed into the naval service, and within a fortnight above seventy ships, bearing the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, were able to take the sea. The Earl of Leven, commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, hurried down to Edinburgh, and orders were sent to Flanders to embark twelve battalions of infantry, and send them to the mouth of the Tyne. But these were not able to embark at Ostend till the 22nd of March, and, had the French designs been properly carried out, could not have arrived in Scotland till Edinburgh had already fallen. Nor would the troops from England and Ireland have been in time to avert this catastrophe, though a battalion of Foot Guards, the first and second troops of Life Guards, the regiment of Horse Guards, and several regiments of foot were at once ordered to Scotland, for these had to be chiefly drawn from the southern shires, and the army in Ireland was only assembled on the coast after the expedition was already defeated.

As soon as the French fleet, which consisted of five sail of the line, twenty-one frigates, and two transports, was ready to sail, James despatched Mr. Fleming to acquaint his friends in Scotland of the fact. With this messenger was sent several copies of a paper, telling his subjects how to behave. They were particularly enjoined not to stir till they were sure that he had landed; then



they were to secure all the money, arms, and provisions of such as were not well affected. In these orders the Chevalier showed a tender feeling for his partisans, as he did not wish them to risk their own security till there was a great chance of success, although a series of risings in various parts of the country would have materially facilitated his own disembarkation, by necessitating the withdrawal of the troops that might be prepared to oppose him. Fleming was to cause pilots to be sent to meet the French fleet at the mouth of the Forth, as the intention was to land near Dunbar. Accordingly, Mr. George, a skipper, was despatched to Fifeness, to act as a pilot, but, at the same time, was deputed to carry to Stratton, at Edinburgh, the news of the approach of the French fleet. George delivered his message, but after doing so spent so much time in carousing, that he was not permitted to recross the Firth, as all the news-letters were now full of the preparations of France, and of how Louis had taken formal leave of James, with the expressed wish that he might never see him again.

The English fleet, consisting of sixty-four ships of the line, and several frigates and fire-ships, together with three Dutch vessels, stood over to Dunkirk, and appeared within sight of the ramparts of that fortress just as the expeditionary army was already embarked on the 28th of February. The French admiral, Fourbin, who was to command the armament, had not expected any maritime opposition. On the appearance of this imposing fleet he suspended the embarkation, and sent an express to Paris

for fresh orders. He himself was averse to putting to sea with vessels crowded with soldiers, when a hostile fleet, superior in numbers and weight of metal to his own, was ready close outside the port of departure to engage or pursue him.

The English fleet finding the seas high and the tides strong off Dunkirk on account of the approach of the equinox, after appearing off the place, sailed back to the Downs. While it was absent, Fourbin received orders from the King of France to carry out the design at all hazards. During this delay, however, James was taken ill of measles, and the troops were disembarked till he was sufficiently recovered to proceed. This was the case within a few days, and on the 6th of March, while the English fleet was absent Fourbin set sail from Dunkirk. Hardly had he cleared the port when the wind chopped round, and he was detained in the pits of Newport till the 8th. While here, his vessels were seen and counted from the steeples of Ostend, and before he could sail from the coast of the continent a despatch boat was bearing the news across the Channel to Byng. The latter at once weighed anchor and appeared off Dunkirk a few hours after Fourbin had stood out to sea, but it was uncertain whether the French had not only turned back to Dunkirk, and it was not till twenty hours had elapsed that Byng ascertained that they had actually sailed.

The time thus gained should have enabled the French to gain the Forth and effect their landing without interruption from the English fleet. But from fear of falling in with the English squadron, Fourbin



bore so far out into the North Sea, that the first land he sighted was sixty miles north of Aberdeen. It was necessary to return, the vessels put about, and in the evening of the 12th of March dropped their anchors opposite Crail, at the mouth of the Firth of Forth. A frigate was sent into the Firth to exchange signals with the Earl Marischal, which by some oversight or mistake were not returned. On account of the social proclivities of Mr. George no pilots were forthcoming, and on account of the circuitous course steered by the French Byng was close in pursuit. Next morning his fleet appeared in sight. To venture an engagement against such superiority of metal was for Fourbin impossible. To attempt to land troops under the fire of the English squadron was equally impracticable. The Jacobites loudly blamed Fourbin that he did not push up the Forth and seek shelter in its narrow waters, where he could not be pursued by the English liners, but how the French were to make the channel without pilots, or why the French vessels should float in water too shallow for the English ships, these theorists do not explain. Fourbin took the wisest course ; on the appearance of Byng's masts on the morning of the 13th, he cut his cables, and under all the canvas he could crowd stood out to sea with a good breeze. Byng pursued with all the sail that he could make, but the French vessels seem to have been cleaner, and to have sailed quite as well, if not better than the English. Though every sail was hoisted, Byng could not force an engagement, and could get within cannon shot of only three of the French vessels. Of these, one, the Salisbury,

which had been originally taken from the English, and was now the flag-ship of the French Vice-Admiral, was engaged by two English vessels and captured. On board of her there were some four hundred soldiers, as well as some distinguished exiles, who were made prisoners.

At night Byng lost sight of the French, and considering the Firth of Forth the station of greatest importance, and the place where the enemy might again attempt to land, put in there till he could ascertain accurately in what direction the French had actually sailed. Here he was detained for some weeks by high seas and strong winds.

Had the French fleet been able to take the sea on the first day that it cleared out of Dunkirk, there is little doubt but that it could have landed its troops before the arrival of Byng in the Forth, and even as it happened, but for the want of a simple precaution it might still have done so. The absence of pilots prevented Fourbin from running up the Forth from Crail as soon as he arrived there. He trusted to find pilots provided in Scotland, yet Scotch vessels went often to Dunkirk, and Scotch seamen were abundant in that port. A few of these could have been brought with the fleet, and would have rendered unnecessary that dependence on others, and the necessity of combination, the failure of which so often wrecks warlike undertakings.

No sooner did the French fleet appear off Crail, than an express was sent off from Dunbar, to notify its arrival to Leven the Commander of the Forces. He made preparations for the defence of Edinburgh and the Castle,



though the Jacobites say that he would have retired to Berwick or Carlisle. It is not clear how they knew the secret intentions of the hostile general, nor does it appear probable that he would have done so, as two days after, on an alarm of the return of the French, he, instead of retiring, actually advanced to the shores of the Forth to oppose a landing. The news created great joy among the partisans of the Stuarts and their friends increased wonderfully during the few hours that Fourbin's vessels lay at Crail before the arrival of Byng. Those who had before been doubtful or lukewarm were now most energetic and uproarious in the cause of the Chevalier, when beyond the hearing of Leven's guards or patrols. White rosettes, the emblem then of the British, as now of the French Pretender, were secretly carried on men's breasts below their coats, and furtively shown to admiring friends. The clink of glasses, the drinking of toasts, laughter and merriment were loud at Pat Steel's. At the Cross Keys, where the courtiers met, men took their refreshments in silence, or sat gloomy and sullen. On the morrow all was changed, the Jacobites whispered to one another that Byng had come up, that Fourbin had cast away his anchors and fled to sea; the white cockades were hidden away; it was the turn of the Jacobites to look solemn and sad. At the Cross Keys and in the Parliament Close, the courtiers were shaking hands, and gaily rallying each other over their previous terror. The next day was Sunday, and from the ramparts of the Castle, and from the whin-covered heights of Calton Hill, a large fleet of masts was seen slowly bearing

up Channel before the easterly breeze. Both parties were much agitated; the Jacobites hoped it was the French returning, the courtiers trusted they belonged to Byng. The garrison was called to arms, and marched down by Leven, to form in battle array on the sands of Leith. A boat put off from one of the vessels, rowed ashore, and brought the news to Leven that it belonged to the English fleet. The hopes and fears of both sides were laid at rest.

The French fleet scattered when pursued by Byng, and did not rendezvous till the 14th. Then a council of war was held, and it was determined to attempt a landing in the north. The point designated was Inverness, and pilots were sent for to bring the ships in shore. But the sea rose and the wind blew strong, and Fourbin, fearing that the fleet would be separated, notwithstanding the desire of James to be set ashore, with such of his companions as were his own subjects, sailed back to Dunkirk. The Jacobites accused Fourbin of having secret orders not to land, but only to appear off the coast so as to cause a rising and incite a civil war, which would trouble the English government without committing French troops to the struggle. It does not, however, appear that this accusation can be supported on solid grounds. It is only natural, as is always the case, that a disappointed party should vent its vexation and its spleen on any commander who, however well he may have done his own duty, may not have satisfied their desires.

On the news of the arrival of the French at Crail,



Sterling of Keir, Sterling of Carden, and Seaton of Touch, called together their dependants and marched upon Edinburgh, but retired on the intelligence of the departure of Fourbin. They were taken afterwards and tried for being in arms against the King, but as the formal proofs failed they were acquitted. The prisoners taken on the Salisbury were sent up to London under escorts of the Blues, but after being detained a short time in prison were set free. The Duke of Hamilton had already been arrested at Ashton in Lancashire by a messenger, and on hearing of the approach of the Chevalier, was prepared to break from the messenger and force his way to Scotland, but before he put his design into execution heard of the flight of the French fleet.

Upon the alarm of this intended descent orders were sent to Scotland to draw all the forces in the northern kingdom around Edinburgh. Such troops as remained in England were ordered to march to Scotland, so that had the French landed on the eastern coast of England, they might have done so with but little opposition. The troops in Ireland were ordered to march northward, to be ready when called for. Twelve battalions were also sent from Ostend under a strong convoy, and lay at the mouth of the Tyne awaiting further orders.

These were the preparations made; but it appeared that the French relied chiefly on the assistance that they expected would come in to them upon their landing. Reports were spread by the French agents all over Europe, at Venice, Rome and in Switzerland, that the

exiled prince of England had been invited by his subjects, chiefly those of Scotland, to take possession of the throne of his ancestors, and that the King of France, at their desire, had sent over a fleet and army to aid him ; that he was to pardon all those who should join him and would trouble none on account of religion ; and that upon the Stuart dynasty being re-established in the island, the King of France would give peace to the rest of Europe ; that there was before the expedition was sent an army on foot in Scotland which had proclaimed the exiled King ; and that hostages had been sent from Scotland to Paris to secure the observance of the engagements into which the Scotch had entered.

These reports boldly circulated caused no slight uneasiness among the continental allies of the English government. It was generally concluded, and not without justice, that so small a fleet and so weak an army would not have been sent but upon great assurance of assistance, not only from Scotland but also from England. Some severe reflections were made on the conduct of the English Admiralty, and Harley was freely blamed for negligence, and even afterwards, without foundation, suspected of treason.

Parliament was sitting ; the Queen communicated to both Houses the information she had received ; both Houses voted addresses to her, giving full assurance of their stedfast adherence to her and to her Protestant succession, not unmingled with broad intimations of their apprehensions of treachery at home. Two bills were passed. The one enacted that the abjuration might



be tendered to all persons, and that such as refused it should be in the position of convict recusants. By the other, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended till October, with relation to persons taken up by the government upon suspicion ; and the House of Commons by vote engaged to make good to the Queen all the extraordinary charge to which the expedition might put her.

After the French fleet was lost sight of by Byng's cruisers, a fortnight passed without any news of Fourbin's vessels. Three French ships landed near the mouth of the Spey, but only to obtain water and provisions, which were much needed on account of the large number of landmen in excess of the crews on board. At last the ships all got back in safety to Dunkirk, but the soldiers suffered much. Many died while out at sea, and all the hospitals at Dunkirk were filled with disembarked invalids on the return of the squadron. It was said the French lost 4,000 men in their expedition, for they were above a month in a very tempestuous sea. Many suspected persons were arrested in Scotland ; a few in England, but further discoveries of those who had corresponded with the French were not then made. If the French had landed it would certainly have had a bad effect on the paper credit of the country, and if the remittances to Catalonia, Piedmont, and Portugal had been stopped at such a critical season it might have had fatal consequences abroad : for if foreign princes could not have reckoned on our assistance, they might have been disposed to hearken to the propositions that the King of France would probably have made to them.

## INVASION OF 1715.

THE death of Queen Anne, and the sudden accession of the Whig ministry to power, took the Jacobite party by surprise. It had been hoped that the intrigues of Bolingbroke and the affection of the Queen would, notwithstanding the act of succession, have secured the peaceable possession of the crown to the Chevalier of St. George on the death of his sister. These hopes were blasted by the vigour with which the Whig leaders acted as soon as Anne was known to be mortally ill—a vigour which was indeed well-timed, and might have given peace to the country had it been followed by more lenient action or conciliatory procedure towards the Tory opposition. This party was indeed at first inclined to demur to the accession of the Elector of Hanover, and some fiery spirits would fain even immediately on the death of Queen Anne have kindled a civil war. The most adventurous, and what is nearly synonymous, those who had little to lose by national tumult or disturbance, were eager to proclaim openly King James the Third, and the celebrated Dr. Atterbury declared himself ready to proceed in his rochet and sleeves to Westminster, and there, in the face of the world, publish the proclamation. Such hare-brained schemes might suit visionary enthusiasts or impecunious malcontents, but the leaders of the Tory party were little inclined to cast in their lot with such desperate resolves. As yet they did not despair of power, place, and emolument under the new prince. It must be his interest and his desire to caress the principal



men of the second most important party in the state. It was all very well to intrigue for the succession of the Chevalier during the late reign when the Sovereign was secretly favourable, and the furtive smiles of the Court and the influence of the Ante-chamber were the rewards of the intriguers. But it was a very different matter when for intrigues must be substituted civil war, still more unpleasant when to raise that war all hope of place or power, which were not yet totally lost, and all favour from a prince supported by the strongest party in the country must be for ever abandoned; when the whispers of the Ante-chamber and the negotiations of the closet must be exchanged by men not inured to such scenes, for the clash of arms and the roar of guns; when the war if unsuccessful would be followed by all the ghastly consequences of trial for high treason—the block, the axe and the gibbet—and if successful would, as always happens in great convulsions, bring to light new and strong men who would almost certainly trample down the originators of their own success. After some ferment, considerable loss of temper, and not a little quarrelling among the supporters of the divine right of hereditary succession, the excitement of the Jacobites gradually calmed down, and but for the ill-considered vindictiveness of their political opponents would not improbably have totally died away.

On the arrival of the Elector at Greenwich six weeks after the death of the Queen, the Earl of Mar, who had been Secretary of State in Scotland during the late reign, was ready to receive the new Sovereign not only with

assurances of personal loyalty, but also brought with him a long list of Highland chieftains, who in their own names and that of their clans were ready to accept the new prince. It cannot be doubted that the dubious Oxford and the wily Bolingbroke would have been equally ready to kiss the hand of King George. But the party which had been instrumental in bringing him over to England, the party which for years he had been taught to regard as devoted to his interests, and of which the leaders had thickly clustered around him, had been too long deprived of the sweets of office, and too jealous of any rivals to the princely favour, to spare any occasion of stirring up a bad feeling on the part of the Prince to the Tory faction. The Whig leaders felt and deeply resented that they had been driven from office by unworthy intrigues ; they felt that for the last two years they had been fighting an up-hill battle against the Tories, the Church, and the Court, to secure the accession of the Prince whom they had just brought ashore in Kent, amidst the cheers of the populace and the salutes of the ships. Was it to be endured that one iota of their justly earned rewards should be now stolen away by those who had been the constant antagonists to the Hanoverian cause ; and who now changed their policy, as men change their coats to suit an alteration of the weather ? Was it to be tolerated that they who had borne the labour and heat of the day, who for the sake of Prince George had endured the frowns of the Sovereign and the sneers of her favourites, should see raised to an equal place in that Prince's affections the very men who,



servilely fawning upon the feebleness of a weak mind, had instigated the frowns that allowed the sneers?

Such were the counsels poured into George's ear. He himself a foreigner, ignorant of English parties, innocent of English quarrels, was entirely dependent on the advice of the men whom his experience showed had been instrumental in bringing him to the throne. He could not be expected to understand that the opposition might be conciliated, and that by a judicious oblivion of all former offences the Tories might be won over to a contented submission to his reign, and he might rule his new country as the sovereign of his people and not as the mere head of a party. Those who advised his course of action were strongly interested that such should not be the case, and it was to their advice alone that the newly-arrived Prince could turn for aid. Mar was accordingly informed that the Prince could not accept his homage or receive the assurance of Highland loyalty which he brought in his hand. Thus the first blow that carried pain, mortification, and insult into the breasts of the Tory party was delivered by the counsellors of the King a few moments after the arrival of their new leader. Had Mar been a simple gentleman, instead of not only a nobleman of high position, but the spokesman of the many leaders of the north, from whose power and animosity so much disorder could arise, it would have been an error to have so gratuitously insulted him amidst the crowd assembled to witness the landing of the new King. Under the circumstances it was not only an error but a grave crime, and had no little share in leading to the bloodshed in

which the subsequent rebellion was blotted out. As the assemblage was large it was impossible that the incident could pass unnoticed. It could not but be perceived that the Earl of Mar was awaiting the arrival of the Prince with a particular document in his hand. His birth, his connection with the Scotch administration, and the whispers of some of the lower Jacobites, who from curiosity mingled in the throng, soon let it be generally understood what was the nature of his errand ; and men could hardly believe their eyes when after some brief messages passed between the Earl and the group immediately around the Elector, Mar retired without an interview, bearing on his countenance the signs of mortification and annoyance. The excuse alleged for this strange want of courtesy, was that the statement of the chieftains had been drawn up with the knowledge of the Chevalier. So much greater was the reason for receiving it, for James would then have been implicated in the declaration of allegiance by the clans to the line of Guelph, and could hardly again have summoned the mountaineers to arms without an infraction not only of political faith but of personal honour. The true reason was doubtless that the established courtiers, as is so often the case at courts, viewed with the greatest jealousy any one who by approach to the Prince might possibly gain a share of his confidence, and that they neither considered nor cared for the effects in the Highlands ; for at this time few people living in the south of England regarded the mountain clansmen as anything more interesting or more formidable to London than we at present consider



the inhabitants of Ashantee. The mountaineers were then regarded as mere robbers and brigands, secured indeed from suppression and extinction by the wild fastnesses of their mountains and swamps, as are at present those of Athos or Calabria, but none imagined that they would sally forth from their hills to encounter the regular troops in the plains. They might indeed frighten the Provost and town council of Glasgow, or lift cattle on the banks of the Forth, but the idea of the defeat of even a detachment of dragoons by a Highland clan would have been regarded as impossible, and the invasion of England by an army of warriors from the glens and straths of Glenorchy or Lochaber as utterly absurd. It was not till the autumn of 1715 that the inhabitants of London imagined that the clans would ever think of crossing the border, and it was only thirty years later when the young Pretender was at Derby, and the City in a panic, that the military power of the Highlands was truly appreciated.

Still more ill-judged than their conduct towards Mar was the action of the new ministry with regard to the English leaders of the Tory side. The Earl of Oxford was committed to the Tower, and charges to be submitted to Parliament prepared against him. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke were also impeached, but flying to the continent to avoid trial not unnaturally cast in their fortunes with James.

These measures caused grave disquiet among the Jacobites and High Church party. By more prudent action the bulk of both parties could have been won

over to the new government. By want of conciliation and the desire to press their victory to the uttermost, the Whigs alienated and estranged both, not only for the moment but for many years. Politicians do not sufficiently often consider how much every action affects not only the immediate present, but strikes a knell which reverberates, more or less perceived from generation to generation, till it only dies away and is lost in the depths of the recesses of distant time. The treatment of the Tories on the accession of George the First stirred up the angry feelings that caused the rising of 1715. The blood spent in that attempt and the punishments that followed its suppression nursed the morose thirst for revenge that led to the invasion of 1745, and this was only entirely laid at rest when the sympathies of the Highlands were at length enlisted in the same cause as that of England, when Scottish regiments and Scottish officers bore no mean share in the long and bloody wars that culminated in the overthrow of the first Napoleon.

It was perceived that the cavaliers and High Churchmen had nothing to expect from the clemency of their enemies, and that the new prince was entirely led by the counsels of their opponents. Their only hope of recognition, representation, or, indeed, personal security from subjection or insult lay in the overthrow of a dynasty that was bound hand and foot to the Whig interest. That overthrow could only be accomplished by force of arms. There was no reason that the attempt should not be made. They might possibly improve their position—they could hardly make it worse. A



return of the Stuarts would waft at once into the sunlight of power and consideration those who now saw themselves threatened with a long vista of gloom and suppression. When such sentiments gained the minds of men who had been statesmen, dignitaries of colleges, and the aristocracy of many counties, they quickly extended to many of lower rank, who caught them up with more violence and spread them with greater gusto. All whose necessities exceeded their income were readily inclined to foster such an enterprise ; and of such there were many among the landed gentry of the lowlands of Scotland and the northern and western shires of England. The increase of trade which had quickly followed the Union had increased the necessities of life to the upper classes, and at the same time as these necessities had been developed in magnitude, they had been raised in price. The landed gentry of the less fruitful shires who depended for their whole income on their rent-rolls, found themselves now unable to maintain without embarrassment the hospitality and show which they considered indispensable to their dignity and station. They would not dream of reducing their dignity ; they had no means of increasing their incomes ; consequently, as their expenditure could not be diminished or their revenues increased, they had no resource but to incur debt, and many of them were already seriously embarrassed, and had their properties mortgaged to the class they most despised.

In the meantime the mercantile community which was looked upon by the landed aristocracy with a proper scorn

began to acquire riches, and were rapidly surpassing the squires of the county in the architecture of their houses, the magnificence of their plate and the luxury of their equipages. To find themselves at a disadvantage in these respects with merchants who did not understand the quartering of a coat of arms, or of tradesmen who had yesterday been shopboys, was extremely galling and irritating to the landed gentry who boasted escutcheons dated from the Conquest, and cherished armour borne by their ancestors in the wars in the Holy Land. It was still worse to be obliged to hand over to such, in consideration for a loan, the title-deeds which perhaps originally won by arms, had lain for generations in the panelled strong-box in the old oak hall. They foresaw no prospect of change, and thought with a shudder that the hand of the daughter of the family might have to be given in marriage to the son of the upstart to clear off the obligation. They little foresaw how, not two centuries later, money would become almost the sole claim to social consideration, and the aristocracy of wealth would treat, on more than equal terms in the marriage contract, with the aristocracy of birth.

Men in debt are ever discontented with any existing state of affairs; they become more discontented with present circumstances when a change may possibly bestow upon them posts and emoluments which may recruit their finances, and so restore their dearly-cherished precedence.

Nor were those wanting who promised loudly and boastfully that every possible advantage, that every



certainly of success must ensue from the adoption of the Jacobite cause, while the suspicion of failure was either not allowed to be mentioned or drowned by a clamorous declamation which contained a good deal more of assertion than of argument.

Whenever a design is undertaken or even thought of which requires secrecy, mystery, and hidden communication between various individuals or various bodies, in all ages and at all times, a class of men seems to have suddenly sprung up who partly are adopted and partly intrude themselves as agents and conspirators. More than usually was this the case at the period now under our consideration. As soon as the feelings of the more respectable portion of the Jacobite party were roused, a swarm of bustling, meddling adventurers sprang into life. They quickly distributed themselves over the northern and western shires of England and the lowlands of Scotland. Wherever a few people were gathered who might have Jacobite proclivities, some of these bustling intriguers were found upholding the advantages of revolt, and ever ready to quench the thirst caused by their declamations by emptying tankards at the expense of their hearers to the health of the expected king and the confusion of his enemies—an act of loyalty which, unlike most virtues, brought its own immediate reward.

These creatures professed to have entire knowledge of the designs of Bolingbroke, the intentions of the Chevalier, the views of Ormond, and the fears of the Cabinet at Whitehall. Their arguments were adapted to every taste. If anyone suggested that a rising would

be hopeless without an invasion of Scotland from France, an invasion was at once promised by the Duke of Berwick at the head of many thousand French troops. If an attack on England was preferred, it was at once asserted that the Duke of Ormond, with a still larger number of men, was only awaiting the first signal of disaffection to throw himself on the Hampshire coast. If a doubt was expressed lest the insurgents should not be well supplied with ammunition and stores, vessels from France were promised to any number, which were already freighted and only attending on a favourable wind. If a promising convert feared that he should have no arms, weapons were promised in profusion not only for himself but for all his friends. If a want of provisions was hinted at, graphic pictures were drawn of the long lines of wains which, creaking under their loads, were driving along the roads of northern France to the ports of departure. Such orators, ever impetuous in stirring up others to desperate acts, ever extremely backward themselves in incurring danger, made not a few converts among the simple and the credulous. But the feelings of discontent against the government which had been first raised by its own actions, extended far more widely and deeply than amongst the class that could be swayed by such preachers of a crusade. The universities, more especially Oxford, were strong in High Church principles. The heads of colleges and leading authorities viewed with dismay the prosecution of Tory leaders, and began to feel a renewed enthusiasm for the dogmas of hereditary descent. Their example



was caught up by the undergraduates ; and in many halls King James came to be daily toasted, if not so deeply, still more noisily than in the taverns of the town where many disbanded officers, sulky on account of their reduction and eager for tumult, sought a retreat near to the kindred feeling of the university. In the western shires many of the leading gentry were strongly imbued with the Jacobite spirit ; and in the north where Catholicism still lingered, still more were likely to aid with heart and hand the restoration of the Stuart line. The Highlanders of Scotland were of course ready to snatch up the claymore and targe at the call of their chieftains, and would be sure to muster in large gatherings for a cause that promised them at the worst the plunder of the lowlands. In the low countries of Scotland many of the gentry were as embarrassed, as jealous of being embarrassed, and as ready to make a desperate throw for fortune as their compeers beyond the border. The episcopal clergy of Scotland and the whole of the Anglican Church were almost to a man convinced of the necessity to salvation of High Church doctrines, and of the duty of every churchman to add to the diffusion and ascendancy of these doctrines even by means of violence and of recourse to the sword. Some of them were so impatient to be up and doing that they, instead of hindering by exhortations and precept the mob from riot, even encouraged disturbances, and the rabble, ever prone to disorder without the instigation of such venerable ringleaders, was only too ready, by way of aiding a creed which it did not obey, to impede the religion of

others and to tear down the meeting-houses of those who differed from its own views.

Each individual who was converted by these self-styled emissaries at once set to work to convert others. The smallest mind could perceive that the success of the scheme depended mainly on the numbers that would adopt it, and each person who committed himself so far to take part in the expected rising, as that either shame or fear of having trespassed beyond the bounds of pardon prevented his drawing back, had an immediate individual interest in urging as many others as possible equally to implicate themselves. Thus the promises of assistance from abroad, and the assurances of discontent at home, were passed from mouth to mouth and greatly exaggerated. In many instances they fell on willing ears, in many others on ears which gradually were made willing by hearing constantly the same views repeated over and over again, and by hearing no arguments on the other side. All the tales told pointed especially to two great means of success. The one was an invasion from France; the second a general rising throughout the country. As to both of these the apostles of insurrection argued without grounds and asserted without calculation. The most cursory glance at existing facts in France should have shown how little of open assistance was to be expected from the government of that country. However much Louis himself, through a chivalrous feeling of friendship towards James II., may have desired the success of the Chevalier, it was perfectly impossible for his ministry to take any overt measures for his aid.



Their country had been crippled by a long and unfortunate war, in which its borders had been invaded by hostile armies, and the light cavalry of the enemy had been seen from the spires of the capital. From this war it had only escaped by a peace of which the terms were much more favourable than could have been expected, and the nature of these terms was chiefly due to the wish of England not to enact a more severe retribution. With England it was absolutely necessary for France to preserve peace if she did not again wish to find the allied armies arrayed on her northern frontier, while she herself, exhausted of men and munitions, could hardly have lifted a hand to oppose their march on Paris. So strongly was this necessity felt, that though the Chevalier hastened to Paris on the death of Queen Anne, he was informed that the French Court was so fearful of provoking a war with England, that it must adhere to the article of the treaty of Utrecht, by which an asylum was denied to the Pretender in the French dominions. Whatever may have been the secret conversation between Louis and the Chevalier, whatever assurances the latter may have obtained of hidden support, such was the action of the French government patent to the world, and the proof was apparent in the fact that the Chevalier returned almost immediately to Commercy, where he had lived in the domains of the Duke of Lorraine, since he had not been permitted a residence in France. Nor in Great Britain were the circumstances now so favourable to an insurrection as they had been a few years previously. It is true that

the Jacobite party was mortified by seeing the succession glide away to the house of Hanover, that the Tory party was incensed and driven to bay by the ill-advised impeachment of their leaders, that in the west, where lay the influence of Ormond and Wyndham, the cathedral towns cherished and fostered high church feeling, and in the halls and colleges of the Universities deep murmurs and morose discontent prevailed. In the north again a still stronger religious feeling animated men still more adventurous, and impelled by circumstances to yield readily to anyone that tempted them to desperate endeavours. But in the southern and midland shires farming was prosperous, profits were good, and the grazier of Leicestershire, the hop merchant of Kent, or the sheep breeder of Hants, looked with dismay on the idea of a tumult which would certainly stay their business, imperil their gains, might even convert their rich pastures or well-tilled lands into fields of battle, and without payment or compensation sweep their valuable droves or numerous herds into the commissariat depôt of an insurgent army. In the cities trade had been developed year by year, and commerce had proportionately increased, many men had amassed capital, and were strongly opposed to any disturbance that would imperil the value of their securities or their credit. The officers of the army were angered against the Tory ministers through a professional feeling of disgust at the disgrace of Marlborough, the general who had led them to so many victories and such great glory, as well as through a more personal feeling of annoyance



at the conclusion of the peace, which had naturally been at once followed by a sweeping reduction of the military establishments. Some of the reduced officers were ready through want of occupation to embrace a cause which might give them employment, commands higher than those to which their rank entitled them in the regular service, and might finally land them if successful in positions of competency and comfort; but those who still were retained in the service, the most experienced and most versed in their profession, those who held the command of troops, and whose example the soldiers were sure to follow, were strongly attached to the existing order of things. Hence the army, in case of either insurrection or invasion, was certain to be found on the Hanoverian side, and, though small in number, was a much greater security than grooms and tenants armed by dons of colleges or commanded by country gentlemen could be a danger.

In Scotland the agitation against the Union which a few years previously had been so violent had gradually died away. It was found that that treaty, far from being followed by the desolation and degradation which had been so freely prophesied, had led to a great extension of trade in the lowlands; and trade brought prosperity in its train. Glasgow was already giving an earnest of the mercantile wealth which it afterwards acquired, and was anxious even at the cost of arming its own citizens to maintain quiet. Edinburgh was reconciled to the loss of the presence of its Parliament, which was forgotten almost as soon as it had ceased to

be visible. The shopkeepers had found new customers to supply the places of the Lords and members who were their former patrons. The malt tax, one great source of discontent, had been politically suspended. In the western shires the trade of Glasgow stimulated employment, men had begun to put aside the custom of wearing armour, and were turning their energies to peaceful pursuits. They were already busy and consequently happy, and were well inclined to hearken to the dictates of the Presbyterian clergy, who never failed to recommend to their flocks a wholesome hatred to an equally abominable triumvirate, the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender. Though in the lowlands there were still many malcontents, yet thus the great majority of the common people desired quiet, and the possession of the throne to King George ; and here the Chevalier, if truly instructed, could only have reckoned on finding more enemies than friends.

If the reports of the armaments on the continent were exaggerated in Great Britain, not less was the discontent in the island magnified by the busy-bodies who carried news to Versailles and Commercy. The newly-found advisers of the Pretender, who were eager to hazard a triumphant return to London, as well as those who had long pined in exile, considered the time favourable for an invasion and an insurrection. Judging from their feelings of anger against their opponents, they thought that many who were now lukewarm or antagonistic would flock to their standard as soon as it was unfurled, that the Highlanders would bring thirty



thousand men together that would sweep like an irresistible torrent into the low country; that there the Cameronians were still hostile to the Union, and would join in arms with their hereditary enemies to bring back a Papist king, and that the lowland gentry would form strong squadrons to support both; thence that the conflagration would spread beyond the border, that Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire would fly to arms, secure their enemies, and proclaim the hereditary king. It was believed that at the same time a general levy would take place from the Land's End to the bridge of Reading, and that Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire would not be behindhand. Imbued with these ideas, his counsellors strongly urged James to hazard the attempt, and he was by no means loth to follow their counsel.

A secret correspondence was begun between Commercay and Paris and London. In the last city the disaffected Jacobites established a sort of head centre for a general insurrection in Great Britain, and hence the correspondence necessary to arrange the combination, as it could not be trusted to the ordinary conveyance of letters, was carried by various gentlemen who rode through the country in the usual dress of gentlemen travelling for curiosity, and were, according to the custom of the time, armed with sword and pistol. Louis was prevailed upon to permit the secret equipment of some vessels at Havre, though the French government was supposed to be totally ignorant of their existence, and had, by no overt act which might entail a war, given

assistance to James. Towards the month of July the plans of the malcontents were tolerably matured, and they were such as, had they been based on solid information, and energetically carried through, might have had a fair prospect of success. The general scheme seems to have been that the small fleet from Havre should, with a supply of arms, money, and ammunition, effect a landing on the Devonshire coast to join the rising which Ormond in the meanwhile was to organize in the western counties: that the Highlands were to be simultaneously raised, and it was hoped that then France would send a *corps d'armée* to Scotland under the command of the Duke of Berwick, which should form a strong nucleus for the Highland clans and the insurgents of the borders. One point of considerable importance seems to have been entirely overlooked. England still held, had indeed increased the maritime superiority which she wrested for ever from France at the battle of La Hogue. It may be remarked that those who planned the expedition seem never to have calculated on how the flotilla from Havre or the French *corps d'armée* was to get across the Channel without being stopped if not demolished by an English squadron. It may be imagined that a plan was almost desperate when part of it consisted of the dangerous hazard of forming a combination that depended in any measure on a rising in Devonshire, which itself was to be nourished and supported with arms and ammunition from an armament that could only hope to fetch the southern coast by a whole chapter of most happy accidents. But there are



two means by which an invasion across the sea may be effected. If the invader could hold the command of the Channel for even a few hours, he would probably succeed in landing his troops ; if, on the other hand, as in the present case, he must despair of gaining the naval command of the narrow seas, he must trust to surprise. And surprise is not to be despised as rashly as is often the case. In the year of which we are treating, the Duke of Ormond appeared on the coast, without any opposition from the English navy, and as far as the men-of-war were concerned, might have landed an army without interruption. Nor was this the case alone when ships of war were dependent on the winds, and when the transmission of intelligence might be delayed by an unfavourable gale or a contrary tide. Within recent memory, with steam at our disposal and telegraphs available, the transport for an army of forty thousand men was collected in the northern ports of France, and while the vessels rode in the harbours and the troops to fill them were held ready to embark for what might have been an invasion of Hampshire, the English Foreign Office believed and publicly announced that never had there been such quiet in the political horizon of Europe. Within a few days a mighty war was raging.

An opportunity to strike a heavy blow against the English government in a direction where it would have had valuable effect was omitted by those who framed the plan. The neighbouring island would be the place where it might have had a great effect. Yet

Ireland was entirely neglected, and no attempt made to raise a rebellion in that favourable soil ; in consequence the whole army on the Irish establishment was left free and undistracted to be employed as suited the wishes of the government at Whitehall either in England or Scotland. Communications were opened with Bath, Bristol, Lancashire, and the country beyond the Tay ; but no emissaries seem to have been employed to encourage or suggest an insurrection in Munster or Connaught, where the native gentry and population still alike bitterly brooded over the wars of William, and cursed the supremacy of the Protestant creed. The only notice we find of any Jacobite movement in Ireland is that a few persons were arrested in that country for attempting to raise recruits for the Pretender.

While these intrigues were in progress in England, and exertions being made abroad, the adherents of the Jacobites in France were mortified by the sudden appearance of Ormond on the continent. He had promised to remain at Richmond till the last moment, and then if threatened with imprisonment to hurry into the west and create an immediate rebellion. Though personally a brave man, his heart seems to have quailed at the last moment before the responsibility of being the first and for a time the unsupported leader of a civil war, for in politics, as in religion, it is often found that, while many are willing to become unobtrusive heretics, few dare to play the part of the marked heresiarch. The arrival of Ormond not only damped the spirits of the Jacobites, but had a decided influence



in the court of France. The agents of the Stuarts had proclaimed loudly the popularity of this nobleman in the districts where his possessions lay, and had boasted often and long of the thousands that would spring at his mere beck to arms against the government. It said little for his popularity or power to find him forced to fly his country, without even a tumult being made in his favour, a fugitive and an exile ; and the ministers of Louis, not without reason, when they found some of the assertions of the Jacobites so signally refuted, began to look askance upon all. Hereafter they were still more determined not to risk an overt quarrel with England, but the personal inclination of their King prevented a total rupture with the Chevalier, and a small fleet was allowed to be begun to be made ready at Havre. This consisted of as many ships as the funds which James had in hand, or managed to borrow, allowed him to charter. Some seven or eight vessels were got together and began to be loaded with arms, ammunition, and such money as could be saved from the immediate necessities of the service. Had these ships been allowed to sail they would have brought about twelve thousand stand of musquets with a due complement of ammunition to the insurgents.

But before this small convoy was prepared to put to sea the English government gained some insight into what was going on. It was hardly to be expected that a secret so widely diffused, and a plan that necessitated such an amount of combination, should not get to the ears of some who either were attached to the govern-

ment or trusted to make themselves valuable to it by being the bearers of such important information. Nor do the Jacobites seem to have been so cautious as even ordinary prudence required to make the scheme successful, for some in the exultation of the moment actually assumed the colours of the Stuarts ; and many were to be seen in the streets even of the metropolis wearing white roses in their button-holes. These symbols and the information given by friends from various places and the private communications sent by Lord Stair, the ambassador at Paris, soon showed the Privy Council that some scheme was afoot for the restoration of the banished royal family. Accordingly, in July, preliminary measures were taken to nip an insurrection in the bud as soon as it should show a head. The means at the disposal of the Government were limited, for though the army estimates for the year show a strength of sixteen thousand men, of these barely nine thousand were at home. Thirteen new regiments of cavalry and eight of infantry were at once ordered to be levied. The army in England was speedily widely cantoned, so that detachments of regular troops lay in almost every town of importance. The regiments in Flanders, except two battalions left in garrison at Ghent, were ordered home. The Life Guards were encamped in Hyde Park, where their loyalty was encouraged by copious supplies of beer on the Prince of Wales' birthday, and parties of the Foot Guards were distributed in London and Westminster to prevent the wearing of white roses. The garrisons of the Channel Islands were brought over to England and were stationed



near Windsor, but no troops were sent to Scotland, for any danger to London from the Highland clans was regarded as chimerical, and it was considered that any rising in that country would be but a feint to draw the army to the north and to leave the south-western counties uncovered for an invasion from abroad. The Dutch Government was requested to send over the six thousand men which, by its guarantee to the Act of Succession, it was bound to furnish, and at first ordered the Scottish regiments in its pay to the coast, but declined to let them embark on the plea that the French Ambassador had given an assurance that France had no intention of drawing the sword in favour of the Chevalier. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and a reward of one hundred thousand pounds offered for the capture of the Pretender.

These steps showed the uneasiness of the Government, and this, while it caused anxiety to the Whig party, caused great satisfaction to the Jacobites. They were pleased to see the Government troubled without considering that this trouble was strongly calculated to lead to measures by which all their objects would be defeated. With strong hope they believed that the present uneasiness was but a prelude to the impending catastrophe that was about to fall upon the supporters of the established dynasty. Among these was a general sense of gloom, nervousness, and irritation. Men felt and knew that there was some plot, some conspiracy, but none could tell how deep it lay or how wide were its ramifications. It was impossible to guess who were impli-

cated : the partner of the firm, the brother of a family, the occupant of the next seat at the hostelry or the tavern, might be privy to the whole conspiracy, and perhaps one of its secret leaders. A wagon destined for Bristol fair apparently laden with forage, had caught fire at Hounslow, and under a thick covering of hay a large quantity of arms had then been accidentally found. It was impossible to tell how many more might have without discovery already reached their consignees. Rumours, of course, were rapidly circulated, and exaggerated facts and invented fictions. A sullen distrust pervaded London except where in the coffee-houses and ale-houses patronized by noted Jacobites, significant smiles were exchanged, peculiar signs passed, and particular modes of turning the tankard or emptying the bottle implied a furtive toast to James or a secret wish for the confusion of, as the Whig party was vulgarly termed, the Hanover rats.

While the political atmosphere was thus charged with latent electricity which preluded, ere long, a fierce explosion ; a despatch from Stair brought to Westminster the news of the death of Louis the Fourteenth. The King had expired on the 1st of August. It might be thought that this intelligence would at once cast a damp on the Jacobites in England. The late sovereign of France had been personally interested in the Stuart fortunes ; he had made a promise to James the Second to sustain his son's right to the English crown, and the pride of his character and chivalry of his nature alike impelled him to carry out his word. A new ruler would



be moved by no such motives. He might in all probability regard with secret dislike a family which must always be a firebrand between France and the most formidable of her enemies at a time when peace was peculiarly necessary to recruit her impoverished resources and disordered finance. This was clearly perceived by the Jacobites on the continent, and the death of Louis was by them lamented with all the sorrow which men so acutely feel when the death of another is detrimental to their own interests. In England and Scotland, however, the death of Louis was asserted by all the noisy advocates of insurrection as really a favourable event. It was urged that a young and active prince would take more energetic steps and bolder measures to aid the Chevalier than could have been expected from an old and worn-out man sinking into the grave with a broken heart. The Whigs judged more rightly. They had for years seen Louis the open supporter or secret abettor of the line they had expelled with so much labour, and held aloof with so much pain. Their uneasiness began to calm down ; and passing from the confines of despair to overweening confidence, they began to smile at the precautions of Townshend and the military preparations of Stanhope.

Though their satisfaction was more exaggerated than was warranted by facts, the events proved that they were more just in their calculations and opinions than the party which should have weighed carefully every probability in the balance, and adjusted every decision to the utmost nicety. The new head of the French

state, the Regent Duke of Orleans, showed a coldness towards the Jacobite agents in Paris which could not be mistaken and could not be explained away. No English envoys from the court of the Chevalier were now favoured with the earliest interview, though the antechamber might be crowded with expectant ministers or impatient ambassadors. The Pretender was allowed to feel that he had indeed lost his royal father's royal brother, and, what was worse, allowed to experience the fact without much prospect of consolation. The new Regent did not at once lay an embargo on the vessels being fitted out at Havre, which all, except those who were wilfully blind, saw were intended for an invasion of England; nor did he prevent their being further laden with warlike stores, but he looked with no favour on the plan, and when besought to encourage its execution, preserved a stern and unpropitious silence. While negotiations were in progress between the Jacobite agents and this prince, a more powerful argument than a change in the policy of France was brought to bear against the furtherance of the invasion. Stair had carefully followed the designs of the Jacobites step by step, and had as carefully and as scrupulously kept the Government in London informed of every preparation and every arrangement. Suddenly Sir George Byng appeared with an English squadron in the roadstead of Havre, and at the same time Stair presented to the French Ministry a list of the vessels which he truly asserted to be intended for the assistance of the Pretender, and demanded that they should be delivered up to Byng by



the Government. Some diplomacy ensued, but in the end—the Regent being pressed, although he did not comply with the English demands—caused the vessels to be cleared of their cargoes, and the arms and ammunition that had been placed on board to be carried away and stored in the French arsenals. Thus the hope of any material aid to the Chevalier from France was effectually blighted, and the Jacobites in our island could expect little help from the continent in any more material shape than the presence of the Chevalier in person among them.

Marshal Berwick says that, on this expedition becoming abortive, James sent orders to Lord Mar to at once raise the Highlands, and carry through the rebellion which had been arranged there. The Marshal had undoubted sources of information, and is always thoroughly veracious, but in this instance he appears to have been mistaken, for it is much more in accordance with common sense that as other authorities declare James counselled his partisans in Scotland to delay till a rising could be simultaneously begun in both Scotland and England. A consideration of the dates of the various events irrefragably too contradicts Berwick's statement. The death of Louis occurred on the 1st of August; and the following day, before intelligence could have been received or the demise possibly known in England, Mar quitted London for Scotland. It was not till some time after the death of Louis that Byng's pennants appeared off Havre or the English ambassador handed in his memorandum at Paris.

The Earl of Mar was a man of great political activity, good judgment, and pleasing address, but he was totally destitute of knowledge of war, and depended entirely for his military advice on Captain Clephame, whose counsel he blindly followed. The latter had served with some distinction in continental campaigns; he seems to have been an honest and painstaking regimental officer, but was totally unskilled in the higher duties of his profession. He could no doubt excellently command a company, but he was helpless to plan the strategy of a campaign; he might be fully equal to lead a storming party, but was quite incompetent to direct the tactics of a battle. With such a leader and such an adviser it is not to be wondered at that the Jacobite arms fared badly. Mar was at home in cabals, but helpless in a camp; Clephame was incomparable in a barrack-yard, but worthless in the office of a chief of the staff. Mar was deformed in person, and so shifty in politics, that his enemies said of him that he was as crooked in his mind as in his body; and his bearing at the outbreak of the rebellion does not belie the epigram. On the 1st of August he attended the levée held by King George; on the 2nd he started from London to raise the clansmen in the cause of King James. In company with Major-General Hamilton and Colonel Hay he sailed in a small collier, and it is even said that he worked his passage in order the better to conceal his rank. The collier was bound to Newcastle; here they changed vessels and sailed onwards in another to the coast of Fife, where they landed, and then travelled from the house of one friend to that of another,



till they reached the Earl's home at Braemar, among the mountains of Aberdeen. While he was making this journey, Mar sent invitations to the principal Jacobite noblemen and chieftains, begging them to be present at a great hunting match on the 27th of August, which was well understood, as it was intended to be a cloak for a great political council which should arrange the means for a general rising.

On the 27th of August accordingly the Chief of Glengarry, the Earl of Southesk, the Marquises of Tullibardine and Huntley, eldest sons of the Dukes of Athole and Huntley, and many other noblemen and gentlemen met. After the hunting of the red deer was concluded, all the persons of note were bidden by Mar to an entertainment, where he addressed them on the important subject of the meeting. He told them that though he had been instrumental in forwarding the union of the two countries, now his eyes were opened, and he would therefore do what lay in his power to make his countrymen again a free people, and restore their ancient liberties, which, by the cursed Union, were delivered up into the hands of the English. The new courtiers and the Hanoverian King were prepared to enslave them further, and many were now resolved to defend their liberties, and establish on the throne of the realm the Chevalier of St. George, who had the only undoubted right to the Crown. He added that thousands were in league with him to rise and depose King George and establish the Chevalier; that the Regent of France was being engaged to aid and assist with men and money, and

that the French would not fail to land in the West of England with a good force under the command of the Duke of Berwick. At first, those who were present were not inclined to act on Mar's assurance, as he had been Secretary of State to Queen Anne, and they were not convinced of his sincerity ; but when he produced a portrait of the Chevalier, and repeatedly kissed it with tears in his eyes, those assembled agreed to return to their estates, call out their men and bring them together, first taking an oath to be faithful to each other and to King James. But it was not with unalloyed confidence that the chieftains issued the fiery cross. The most discerning felt that the death of Louis the Fourteenth was a most serious blow to any vigorous assistance from France, and without such aid they could not but perceive what small probabilities of victory were to be bought by the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Still they could not fail in the summons of the Chevalier, and though with misgiving called their vassals together. The clansmen recked little of the consequences ; they were always prepared to follow their leaders to war, and they trusted that at the worst they would be able to secure some booty in the Lowlands and bear it back to their huts, which their hills and marshes rendered inaccessible to the pursuer or avenger.

On the 9th of September, Mar set up the standard of the Chevalier at the small market town of Kirk-michael, in the district of Braemar, and solemnly proclaimed James, King of Scotland, England, and France. The standard, on its erection, was consecrated with



prayer, but the Highlanders, ever observant of omens, saw with a shudder that as the staff was planted in the ground the gilt globe was shaken from its summit and fell to the earth. At this time the Earl had with him only sixty men, but his forces rapidly increased, and when he reached Dunkeld he had two thousand warriors under his command. Mr. John Hay, brother of the Earl of Kinnoul, seized Perth on the 16th of September, with a party of two hundred horse, before the Earl of Rothes, who at the same time was moving with five hundred men to occupy the town for the Government, arrived. Rothes retired without a blow, and Mar joining Hay fixed his headquarters at Perth. In the meantime the fiery cross had sped over the hills and straths of the Highlands. Clan after clan had donned the white cockade. The first to rise were the Macintoshes, who were formed into a regiment by the brigadier of that name, and joined Mar at Perth, bringing to his aid five hundred stout warriors. Mar's own vassals were also formed into a regiment, which equally mustered five hundred men; they alone of the clansmen did not wear the national dress, but were clad in the same manner as continental troops. As the fiery cross flew far and wide the clans rushed to arms. King James was proclaimed by Lord Panmure at Brechin, by Lord Huntley at Gordon, by the Earl Marischal at Aberdeen, and by Mr. Graham, brother of the celebrated Claverhouse, at Dundee. The MacDonalds, the Macleans, and the Camerons, were up in the west, and made an attempt to surprise the garrison of Inverlochy. They succeeded

so far as to capture two redoubts at some little distance from Fort William, in one of which were an officer and twenty men, and in the other a sergeant with five ; but the main garrison being on their guard, the mountaineers failed to secure the fort, and marched off to Argyleshire to impede the rising of the Campbells on the side of the Government. The Highlanders who joined Mar fought on foot, for cavalry he was forced to rely on the independent gentlemen who came in provided with their own horses. These were formed into a body under the Earl of Linlithgow, to which was confided the guard of the royal standard and the name given of the Royal Squadron. This troop, which at the outset only numbered twenty horsemen, soon increased to several hundreds. The men of Clanranald, Glengarry, Appin, Keppoch, MacGregor, Robertson, MacKenning, Glencoe, Glenmoriston, and Chisholm, seized their claymores and targes at the call of the chieftains, and marched to join Mar at Perth. Some of these had firearms, which were however of ancient pattern and obsolete construction ; many had only the same armament as their ancestors had used for generations in mountain warfare, and which had already done duty at Kilsyth or Killiecrankie. In consequence of these risings nearly the whole of the country north of the Tay fell into the power of the insurgents, except where the men of Sutherland, Grant, and Argyle were hurrying into harness on the side of King George.



## ATTEMPT IN EDINBURGH.

On the same day as the standard of the Stuarts was unfurled at Kirkmichael, the Jacobites in Edinburgh made a daring attempt, which only just missed placing that city and with it probably the whole of the South of Scotland in their possession. On the news that Mar had gathered the northern chieftains in council on the slopes of the Grampians, the magistrates and citizens concerted measures for the defence of their city against any Jacobite attempt. The city guard, which normally numbered one hundred and twenty men, was increased to four hundred files, who were divided into companies of forty each: the walls and ports were repaired, trenches were dug, and the sluice of the North Loch shut to deepen the water. This lake, which has now been drained, lay in the valley between the precipitous rock which is topped by the castle, and the lower hill, where the new town of Edinburgh has since been built. In dry weather a swampy morass, in wet weather a sheet of water of unfordable depth, which has lately been replaced by elegant gardens, where a beautiful monument to Sir Walter Scott rears its stately spire, the loch guarded the city on its northern face. The embattled rocks of the castle which, towering high above the city, completely commanded the streets, shielded it in the west, and a high stone wall pierced for thoroughfare by ports, as the gates were locally termed, formed a defence against assault on the

west and east. Volunteers were enrolled in a regiment that was styled the Associate Band of Volunteers. The gates and the ramparts were repaired. The Provost, the Lord Advocate, and the Lord Justice Clerk had frequent conferences, and measures were taken which it was hoped would suffice to keep down at once any tumult of the rabble within the town or beat off any cursory attack that might be made from the country. Provisions were stored up, the trained bands mustered, and every night a hundred sentinels were posted on the walls. A design was, notwithstanding these precautions, made to seize the castle, which was occupied by Governor Stuart with a garrison of Marshal Shannon's foot, now the Twenty-fifth or Edinburgh regiment. It still contained one hundred thousand pounds of the equivalent money and the bulk of such stores and arms as were at the disposal of the Government.

But it was not only in Edinburgh that measures were taken to oppose the Highland insurrection. As soon as the chieftains in the north were known to be gathering together, the act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland was passed, which aimed at the destruction of the feudal superiority of the heads of the clans. By a clause of this statute, power was given to summon suspected persons to Edinburgh or to confine them in their own houses. The Lord Advocate quickly acted under this provision, but his summonses had little effect, except to elicit civil excuses, and to bring into his hands, instead of leaders of the conspiracy, a collection of medical certificates, which, if exact, would not only have thoroughly hin-



dered those who forwarded them from all idea of travel, but would have testified to a general epidemic of such complicated diseases among the Jacobite leaders that nature alone would have rendered unnecessary any military precautions against them. As perfect faith could not however be placed in these productions, General Whitham, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, was ordered to march to Stirling with all the troops he could muster, form a camp in the park there, secure the bridge and the passage of the Forth, and occupy the castle. The troops at his command were few: for, though there were four regiments of foot in Scotland on the reduced establishment introduced after the peace, such regiments numbered only two hundred and fifty-seven men, and the three regiments of dragoons had a strength of below two hundred each. At first the camp at Stirling did not contain more than thirteen hundred men; but the Scots Greys were hurried from England to Edinburgh to reinforce Whitham. From two troops of the Greys and two troops of the Royals, a new dragoon regiment was formed which now exists in the army list as the Seventh Hussars. The Third Dragoons, which at first it was considered necessary to retain at Glasgow, were relieved there by the voluntary enrolment of the citizens who, at the expense of the town, formed two regiments, each one thousand strong, that were supplemented by one of equal strength levied by Lord Glasgow at his private expense. Two regiments of foot were marched to Scotland from England, and the infantry regiment of Clayton, now the fourteenth of the line, with Wightman's and Evans'

dragoons, were called over from Ireland. The Board of Ordnance was directed to prepare a field train of artillery for service in North Britain, and Albert Borgard, the first colonel of the royal regiment of artillery, was designated to conduct it into action. The people in some other parts took up arms in the cause of the Government, notably at Dumfries, where volunteers were enrolled; but in the eastern counties, even in the Lowlands, hardly a man could be found to engage himself for the service of King George, and the people of Teviotdale and Ettrick turned heedless ears to the entreaties and expostulations of even their most popular pastors, though loudly raised in the King's cause.

At the same time half-pay officers were distributed through the country to encourage and help in the exercise of the train bands and the militia, but these levies could not be expected to be of any use in the open field. The utmost that could be hoped from them was that they might shield their towns or parishes from raids for contributions or requisitions, and perhaps hold a pass for a few hours till the regulars might come up. The reinforcements arrived only slowly; and at the beginning, or even in the middle of September, the Royalist army at Stirling was reduced to great hazard if it had been in the presence of a Montrose or a Dundee. Either of them would have sprung down from the hills at the head of the mustered clansmen, dealt the King's tiny force a sledge-hammer blow, and driven Whitham in wild confusion, and not without a moment's pause in the pursuit across the border.



Before such a catastrophe could overtake that general he was superseded in his command by the Duke of Argyle, whose knowledge of the country, and power, as chief of the formidable clan Campbell, were extremely valuable.

At the same time the Earl of Sutherland was sent to the extreme north to raise his retainers and any of the neighbouring clans he could persuade to take arms on the side of the Government.

The scheme against Edinburgh Castle was headed by Lord John Drummond, a Roman Catholic, who, on its success, was to be appointed governor for King James. His companions were all gentlemen, about ninety in number, and chiefly Highlanders. Among them was a Captain Maclean who had lost a leg at Killiecrankie, and an Ensign Arthur, who two years before had served with the Scots Fusilier Guards previous to the removal of that regiment on the Union to London from the Castle. All these were promised commissions under James the Eighth, and one hundred guineas each if they succeeded. Ensign Arthur had gained over a sergeant of the garrison named Ainslie, to whom he promised a lieutenancy, a corporal who was to have an ensigncy, and two privates who were to receive one eight, and the other four, guineas. The attempt was to be made on the night that the troops marched from St. Anne's Yards to fight the Earl of Mar ; and it was arranged that as soon as the place was captured, three rounds of cannon would be fired from the ramparts to acquaint the lairds of Fife who were to muster at the old Castle of Halyards, and cause

beacons to be lighted on the lofty Lomonds, which were to be repeated from hill-top to hill-top till they apprised Mar that the Castle was held for the Chevalier. He was then at once to push his march for Edinburgh.

The evening of the 9th of September, at nine o'clock, was the hour fixed for the attempt, as then one of the corrupted privates would be sentinel at the sally-port. The conspirators resolved to scale the rocks on the north side of the Castle hill where it was less precipitous, and where the path near the sally-port ran down to the road that led to the Meuse. A ladder was prepared which would allow several men to climb abreast, furnished with grapnels at its top to admit of its being fixed to the coping of the wall. This was to be drawn up and secured by the sentinel, and by its aid the party was to pour over the wall, rush into the guard-house, disarm the soldiers, and fire the three rounds agreed upon to tell Mar of his advantage. The night of the 9th of September was as dark and stormy as the conspirators could have wished ; all the troops except the detachment of Shannon's foot in the Castle, and the town guard had marched to join the camp at the park of Stirling, where Argyle had drawn all his available force to hold the passage of the Forth and secure Stirling Bridge.

Ensign Arthur, in the exultation he felt at the certainty of success, confided his secret to his brother, a physician in the city, who volunteered to accompany him, but was nervous and uneasy before setting out, and could not conceal his anxiety from his wife. When pressed by her as to the cause, he had not the firmness



to keep his counsel, but unwarily disclosed to her the whole design.

A secret in charge of a lady soon ceases to be so, and here there was no exception to the rule. Animated either by dread for her husband's safety, or hatred of the Jacobite cause, or, as has been suggested, by a passion for one of the officers in the fortress, Mrs. Arthur sent an anonymous letter to the Lord Justice Clerk, Sir Adam Cockburn of Ormistoun, informing him of the intended assault. He immediately sent an express with the same information to Colonel Stuart; but it was ten o'clock on the night of the 9th before the Justice Clerk received Mrs. Arthur's letter, and eleven had struck before his message was brought into the Castle. Had the conspirators punctually kept their tryst, they would have thus been able to carry out their enterprise before its disclosure had reached the Governor; but they whiled away so much time in a tavern drinking bumpers to the health of King James, the confusion of his enemies, and the success of their enterprise, that by the time they reached the foot of the wall, the clock of St. Giles' had struck twelve, and the plot was discovered. The Lieutenant-Governor thought little of the importance of the Justice Clerk's express, or being secretly attached to the Stuart cause, wished Drummond success. He merely mentioned the matter to the officer on duty, and retired to bed; but the latter thought it his duty to patrol around the walls on the inside all night.

When they finished their carousals, the conspirators started for the Castle hill, and about midnight the first

party of forty men, led by Drummond, Arthur, and Maclean who, notwithstanding a wooden leg, clambered up the rocks as actively as his companions, arrived at the foot of the postern wall unseen by any except their friend the sentinel on the rampart. There was some difficulty with the ladder, for all the lengths had not been brought, but eventually it was hauled up and secured by the sentry to the copestone of the wall. The assailants began to climb, when suddenly Lindesay, the lieutenant of the day, going his rounds with a patrol of the guard came upon the sentinel. He observed the whole, and ordered the sentry to fire to alarm the garrison. The ropes were cut, and the broad ladder with those upon it fell heavily on the rocks below, while the rounds poured a volley into them. The discomfited Jacobites fled or tumbled down the rocks and immediately dispersed; but the city gates being shut, and the guards on the alert, they could not get back into the town. Most dispersed into the country, four were captured by a patrol of the city guard, which the Lord Justice Clerk had caused to be sent out through the west port, which also secured the ladder as a trophy. Among these was the veteran Maclean who was taken with a firelock in his hand at the west port. Leslie, who had been page to the Duchess of Gordon, was taken near the sally-port, and Boswell and Ramsay described by their capturer as two "writer lads," being writers to the *Signet*, were also made prisoners. The sentinel, who had been seized by the patrol, was fettered hand and foot and thrown into the blackhole,



where he confessed the whole affair. Sergeant Ainslie by sentence of court-martial was hanged over the postern wall, and the corporal and privates were severely flogged. Colonel Stuart was displaced for negligence by the Duke of Argyle, and Brigadier Grant appointed as Commandant in his place. Thus, as Lord Mahon remarks, through the combined influence of wine and woman was this daring scheme defeated.

The news of an actual outbreak in Scotland made the English Government redouble its vigilance. By the unanimous consent of the House of Commons, six of its members were arrested and brought up to London, where they were confined in places of safety. Of these the most notable was Sir John Packington, who was brought from his seat in Worcestershire, where he was prepared to head a rising of the population that dwells around the Malvern hills. The titular Duke of Perth and the Lords Lansdowne and Duplin were committed to the Tower by virtue of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and Colonel St. Paul of the Guards, who was discovered enlisting men for the Pretender, was placed in confinement.

General Wade who commanded in the western district took energetic measures to anticipate and suppress any rising within the sphere of his command. In accordance with his orders, many suspected persons were secured in the western counties and their houses were seized. The Fourth regiment of Horse, now known as the Third Dragoon Guards, with Rich's Dragoons occupied Bath; the Queen's regiment of Horse, now the First Dragoon

Guards, marched into Bristol. In both places the houses of suspected Jacobite partisans were ransacked, many arms were found, and many persons who were believed to have been privy to their purchase and concealment were arrested. An intention to seize Plymouth was also foiled by the apprehension of several suspected persons. Oxford was occupied by a detachment of Dragoons under Colonel Pepper. The half-pay officers escaped not without difficulty, and the heads of houses, thoroughly frightened by the actual sight of the soldiery, promised their future good behaviour, and abandoned the idea of the rising which they had planned to be combined with that at Bristol.

A severe blow was struck at the insurrection in the west by the attempted capture of Sir William Wyndham, the late Secretary of State for War, who was to have been one of the principal leaders of the revolt. A messenger and an officer of the Guards surprised him in bed. He escaped by a side door under the pretext of taking leave of his wife who was with child, but finding his correspondence intercepted, thought it prudent to surrender himself in London.

The garrison of Plymouth was increased, the roads and lanes of Devonshire were constantly patrolled. Mounted pickets were posted at every cross road, and sentries paced in the high street of every important town. By this rapidity of action, the Jacobites of the west who were not arrested were dispersed. No rising was possible, when the collection of even two or three men would immediately draw upon them a squad of



dragoons or even a volley of musquetry. The arms that were not seized were hastily hidden in haystacks or thrown into ponds, the commissions from the Pretender were torn to pieces or cast into the fire, and the western Jacobites were perforce obliged to remain silent if not contented. These measures entirely checked the insurrection in the west, and when Ormond arrived off Plymouth, instead of finding the ramparts of that fortress, the cities of Bristol and Bath in the hands of his associates, and the whole of the west, from the gates of Oxford to the Land's End, in arms for the Chevalier, he was refused even a night's lodging in the district which he fancied was permanently secured for his king. In the north many of the gentlemen of Cumberland and Westmoreland were thrust into Carlisle Castle. Warrants were freely issued against others, and messengers were sent from London to secure and bring up to town Mr. Forster, the member of parliament for Northumberland, and the Earl of Derwentwater, a most influential proprietor and noted adherent of the Catholic succession in Westmoreland.

Whether the insurrection in the Highlands commenced by orders or without orders from Commercy, when it was once on foot the only prospect of success for the Pretender was to support it as vigorously as possible. The Duke of Ormond set out from Paris to make a descent on Devonshire from the coast of Normandy, and the Chevalier held himself in readiness to start from Lorraine.

Although it was no longer possible, on account of

the action of the French Government, for him to carry over with him as many men as would prevent his being taken by the constables of the first county in which he might land, James was extremely eager to embark and share the fortunes of his friends in the island. He had several times determined on a day for the commencement of his journey from Lorraine, but as often deferred his setting out in deference to the earnest entreaties which he received from England, and which continually urged delay. It was only on the 28th of October that he was permitted to set out, when he travelled in disguise to the harbour of St. Malo.

In the meanwhile the Duke of Ormond, taking with him about twenty officers and as many troopers of Nugent's regiment, had sailed from the coast of Normandy with the intention of landing in Devonshire. He had settled on this course with his partisans in that county, and expected to find them up in arms on his arrival. But his plans had been betrayed to the Government by one of his intimate agents, and measures had been taken to nip the insurrection in the bud. His leading friends had been arrested, the remainder had fled; strong bodies of infantry as well as cavalry had been pushed into the western counties, and were replaced in the neighbourhood of London and Windsor by the regiments ordered home from Flanders and the Channel Islands. When the Duke reached the place appointed for the rendezvous, he found no tokens of a rising, no answer to his signals, and not a single



armed man was waiting to meet him ; and he failed to obtain a lodging for even one night in the town of Plymouth. To remain alone under such circumstances would have been to court instant capture ; he could only put his ship about and steer back to St. Malo.

Here he found the Chevalier, who had engaged a few vessels, and was shipping off some supplies to Scotland. Ormond and his prince had several conferences : it was now impossible to stay the rising of the clans in the north ; to abandon them would be to leave a number of brave and loyal men helpless victims to the rage of the Government ; to secure success without a rising in England to support that in Scotland would be extremely doubtful. Ormond resolved to make a desperate venture, and again set sail, intending to throw himself on the Devonshire shore and trust to a happy fortune and the chapter of accidents. But before he could make the opposite land a violent storm sprang up, and again forced him back to France, just before several English men-of-war appeared in the offing and established a strict blockade over the port of St. Malo. The Chevalier was now unable to sail from that harbour, but he was determined at all risks to join his friends in Scotland, since the project of invading southern England was completely baffled. It was extremely dangerous for him to travel through France, as it was probable that Stair would demand his detention, and that the French Ministry would not dare to refuse it. But he sent word to Dunkirk to have a ship prepared for him, and succeeded in reaching

that place on the 8th of December, after a painful journey by side roads, rendered extremely difficult through frost and snow. He embarked on board of a small vessel which carried only eight guns, and with no escort but six gentlemen, who like himself were disguised as French naval officers.

The possession of Perth gave Mar the command of the passage of the Tay, and of the whole of Fife—where there were coal mines which supplied his camp with fuel—and of the sea coast of that county, which had convenient harbours for communication with the continent. Here he was joined by two thousand men of Tullibardine and Breadalbane, and early in October had under his command fully eight thousand warriors. At Perth the Pretender was proclaimed with much solemnity. Any arms and ammunition that could be found in the neighbourhood were brought into the camp, and some cannon were brought from Dundee and Dunnottar Castle. A vessel had been freighted with arms from Edinburgh Castle, which were shipped at Leith to be conveyed to the Earl of Sutherland in the extreme north ; but the master of the ship, instead of making a direct course, called in at Burnt Island to see his wife and family, and thus by female influence his cargo was lost to his employers. For Mar, having noticed this fact, under cover of a false rumour of attack against the front of Argyle's outposts and piquets, on the evening of the 2nd of October sent off four hundred horse with as many foot mounted behind them, who arrived at Burnt Island about midnight, and



having pressed all the boats in the river, boarded the vessel and seized the arms. They also found about one hundred stand of arms in that town, and twenty or thirty in another, with all of which they returned unmolested to Perth.

In the meantime Argyle lay in his camp at the park of Stirling, content with the maintenance of the passage of the Forth. The Fourteenth regiment from Ireland reinforced him early in October, but still his army did not amount to four thousand, while Mar's increased to close upon twelve thousand. In cavalry Argyle was his superior, and his grey horse and Seventh Dragoons made occasional raids and dispersed small meetings of insurgents, or cut off stragglers. At the same time as Stirling Bridge was secured, the half-pay officers of the army were quartered over the country to encourage the militia, and orders were given to all officers in the seaport towns to keep an eye on any ships arriving, lest they should land the Pretender or arms or ammunition. Notwithstanding these precautions, the militia seem to have put in but a small appearance, and two vessels from France succeeded in making Arbroath. Argyle was not only inferior in numbers but almost destitute of artillery: so dilatory were the proceedings of the Board of Ordnance, that though a field train was ordered on the news of the disquiet in Scotland, it was not ready to leave the Thames till December, and did not arrive in the Forth till February. Then the ordnance was never disembarked, but the gunners were sent to serve fifteen

indifferent pieces of cannon which had been collected, and were moved to Stirling from Edinburgh early in November.

Under these circumstances, and the well-known difficulty of holding the Highlanders long together, the clear course for Mar to pursue was to strike boldly southwards with his whole united forces, carry the passage of the Forth at all cost, and seize Edinburgh. Every day lost would increase Argyle's army: every day gained risked a diminution of his own. But, instead of striking one decided blow, he attempted a series of complicated combinations, for the success of which were absolutely necessary an accurate punctuality which can be rarely commanded among irregular troops. He himself was to advance against the Forth in the centre, while General Gordon with about two thousand five hundred men of the western clans was to reduce Inverary and occupy Glasgow. At the same time Mackintosh, with an equal number, was to throw himself across the Firth of Forth, and raise the eastern lowlands, and threaten Argyle in rear. Such a combination, with well-drilled troops, would have been exceedingly feasible, for each detachment of the northern army would have possessed a numerical equality to the whole force of the enemy; but with undisciplined troops it was exceedingly hazardous.

In the north of England, however, the rising was not so easily quelled. Here the spirit of Catholicism lingered longer than in any other part of the country, and it was fanned in August by the chief directors of the



plan, who made London the centre of their operations. Mr. Forster, the member for Northumberland, and Lord Derwentwater, were implicated in this correspondence, and warrants were issued for the arrest of both. Hearing of this, and also that messengers were actually near at hand to apprehend them, and aware that in a few days they would be either imprisoned or hurried up to London, when they would be separately examined, and ignorant of what each other said, they boldly resolved, after consultation with their friends, at once to appear in arms. Pursuant to this resolution, they met on the 6th October at a place called Greenrig; and that evening, with sixty horsemen, some mounted on Lord Derwentwater's coach-horses, and all on good useful animals, occupied the market-town of Rothbury. Next day they seized Warkworth, another market-town upon the sea coast, and here they spent Sunday. They ordered the clergyman of the parish to pray for the Pretender as King, and to omit the name of King George from the Litany; and on his declining to do so, their own chaplain occupied the church, read prayers, and preached a sermon full of exhortations to be hearty and zealous in the cause, while the rector of the parish went off to Newcastle to acquaint the authorities with what had happened. Here Mr. Forster was chosen as general, not on account of any supposed deep military knowledge, nor by reason of superior station, but because he was the only Protestant of any note among the party, and it was deemed imprudent to excite popular animosity by appearing with a Papist leader.

The Pretender was proclaimed as King of Great Britain by Forster, in disguise, by the sound of trumpet, and with all the formality that the circumstances and place would admit.

On Monday the 10th of October they marched to Morpeth, and on their way were joined by seventy Scots horse or rather gentlemen from the Borders, and when they entered the latter town numbered three hundred horsemen. Many of the country people were anxious to enlist, but there were no arms wherewith to equip them, and Forster postponed levying infantry until he could, as was hoped, surprise Newcastle, and seize the stores in that place. The insurgents hoped that this town would open its gates to them, but finding a delay in its doing so, they drew off without any special design to Hexham. Had they pushed on rapidly they might probably have gained the place, for there were there many friendly to their cause ; but, while they wandered about, the magistrates called the militia and train-bands into the city, whither flocked also, mounted, a considerable number of country gentlemen, so that the town was filled with horses and men. At the same time from the townspeople themselves seven hundred volunteers were armed, and the keelmen (lightermen), who were mostly Dissenters, offered a body of seven hundred men, to be always ready at half an hour's warning. The old and strong stone wall round the place was rapidly repaired, though there was no cannon to defend it, and the gates walled up with stones and lime, so that they could not be forced without the



employment of artillery. In the midst of this hurry a battalion of foot and part of a regiment which had been ordered from Yorkshire arrived by forced marches ; and Lieutenant-General Carpenter, who had left London on the 15th of October with Hotham's regiment of foot, Cobham's, Moleworth's, and Churchill's dragoons, arrived at Newcastle on the 18th, with orders from Government to pursue the rebels, and began to prepare to attack them at Hexham. Here Forster remained three days, and seized all the arms and horses he could lay hands on, especially such as belonged to those who were well affected to the Government. He proclaimed the Pretender as King James III., and then started for Rothbury, on account of another insurrection which had sprung up in the south-west of Scotland. Lord Kenmure, the only nobleman in that part, had been solicited by Lord Mar to take up arms for the Pretender, and to command such forces as should join him on the south of the Forth. On the 12th of October he unfurled a blue standard, with the Scottish arms in gold, and with the motto "No Union !" and "For our wronged King and oppressed Country !" at Moffat in Annandale. Next day he attempted to seize Dumfries, but was hindered by the Marquis of Annandale, who threw himself into the town with his servants, and held it for King George. Foiled in this direction, Kenmure drew off to Ecclefechan, and on the 14th, on a common near that place, formed his force, which was near upon two hundred horsemen, into a regiment divided into two squadrons, one commanded by Earl Winton, the other by the Earl

of Carnwater. Hence they marched towards Hawick, and on approaching that place received a despatch from Mr. Forster asking them to meet him at Rothbury. On this they moved by way of Jedburgh across the Border, and were joined there on the 19th by the Northumbrian party, who, hearing that Carpenter was about to attack them, had retired from Hexham. After their junction, learning that Brigadier Macintosh, from Mar's army, had crossed the Firth, and was already arrived at Dunse on his way to reinforce them, they started for Kelso, crossed the Tweed, and entered that town. Here they were almost immediately, on the 22nd of October, joined by the Highlanders, who came in from the Scots side with their bagpipes playing, led by old Macintosh: but these made a very indifferent figure, for the rain and long marches had extremely fatigued them, though the old Brigadier, who marched at their head, looked well.

The movement which brought Macintosh to Kelso had been planned before Mar was aware of the existence of the rising in Northumberland. It was part of the scheme by which, instead of marching boldly against Argyle, he had hoped to envelop his army on the right, while the western clans turned his position on the left. In this direction he sent Brigadier Macintosh to cross the Firth of Forth, land on the Lothian side, and there join the friends who were expected to rise about Haddington. The troops selected for this service were the regiments formed from the men of Macintosh, Strathmore, Logie Drummond, Lord Nairn, Earl of Mar,



and Lord Charles Murray, and numbered about two thousand five hundred men, under the command of Brigadier Macintosh, Laird of Borlum.

It was of itself a bold and daring scheme to attempt to cross an arm of the sea, about seventeen miles wide, in open boats, and the difficulty was increased by the presence of three English men-of-war in the channel. The magistrates of Edinburgh, having received notice of the design from Argyle, had all the boats on the south side of the Forth brought to Leith, and placed under guard of the citadel: three custom-house smacks were also ordered to burn or bring in all boats from the northern side; but as the insurgents held the command of the whole coast line from Cromarty to the mouth of the Forth, they were able to collect transport sufficient for their purpose. While Macintosh was marching towards the extreme mouth of the channel, another detachment moved down upon Burnt Island, and made a noisy demonstration of embarking at that point, as if with a view of crossing above the road of Leith. The men-of-war immediately weighed anchor, and with a favourable tide stood up channel to intercept them. In the meantime the Brigadier silently drew his men down to the shore on the night of the 11th, where boats had been made ready at Crail Pitten-veen and Elie, some twenty miles further to the east. The Highlanders were embarked, and the flotilla put to sea, keeping clear of the English vessels, the lights of which told the steersmen how to shape their course in order to avoid falling in with them. At daybreak

the English seamen perceived the fleet of boats already half way across the Firth, and immediately gave chase ; but the wind and tide were against them, and the ships could not come within cannon-shot. The English boats were got out and sent in pursuit, but the main body reached Aberlady and North Berwick in safety. But all were not so fortunate. One boat was captured with forty men in it, who were taken as prisoners to Leith, and confined in the gaol there. Lord Strathmore and several more were cut off from the southern shore and forced into the islet of May, whence they afterwards returned through Fifeshire and rejoined Mar ; but of the two thousand five hundred men embarked, about sixteen hundred safely gained the southern shore, and occupied Haddington. Hence they marched upon Edinburgh, where it was expected that the rabble would rise and join them. The city was in dismay at finding the formidable Highlanders close upon its gates ; but by the precaution of the magistrates order was maintained within the city, the citizens took up arms and organized themselves, and an express was sent off to the Duke of Argyle to bring aid to resist the foeman without the walls.

As soon as the Duke received this intelligence, he set out from Stirling with four hundred cavalry, partly of Lord Patmore's Scots Greys regiment, and partly of Lieutenant-General Carpenter's and Lord Stair's dragoons, with two hundred foot of Shannon's and Lupin's regiment, and the Scots Fusiliers, mounted on country horses, he arrived at Edinburgh on the 13th. Mean-



while Macintosh on his advance against the city, when within a mile of Holyrood at a place called Jock's Lodge, heard of the approach of Argyle, and, finding that no party was for him in the city, resolved to turn to his right and attack Leith. So he turned to the right, entered the town without resistance, and released from gaol the forty men captured on the passage across the Firth. Here the Highlanders were entire masters of the place, and that they might not be fallen upon to disadvantage, they marched over the bridge into an old demolished fort built there by Oliver Cromwell, and called the Citadel. Here they began to fortify themselves, and seized from the ships in harbour, eight pieces of cannon with powder and ball, and a quantity of brandy, meat, meal, and other provisions, hastily barricaded the gateways with wood, and were ready next day to stand a siege.

The next morning Argyle marched down from Edinburgh with the troops he had brought with him, to which he joined four hundred militia, and one hundred and twenty of the town-guard of Edinburgh and the Associate Volunteers. With this force of about eleven hundred men he appeared in front of Leith, and summoned the citadel, and threatened to use force if the garrison did not yield. The Highlanders haughtily refused to surrender, and Argyle's horse could be of little use to him in an attack on a work. The volunteers were at first particularly eager that the assault should be given, but on being informed that the post of honour and the leading belonged of right to them as volunteers, they became rapidly convinced of the absolute necessity of

artillery and of the advisability of deferring the attack till the following day. He also, after a minute survey, found that the garrison was too well entrenched to allow the place to be taken without the aid of artillery, so for that day he marched back his troops to Edinburgh, intending to bring down some guns the next day and seriously assault the citadel.

But while Argyle was marching back his troops to the port of the Leith wynd, and the volunteers were tramping home with not altogether pleasant thoughts of the Highlanders and the morrow, Macintosh was forming a resolve which prevented the necessity of a display of valour on the part of the Associates, or an employment of artillery against the citadel of Leith. Finding that the return of Argyle had baffled his hope of surprising Edinburgh, that no party rose within the city to aid him, and that he might very possibly, instead of capturing the castle, be forced himself to lay down his arms, he determined to act in accordance with his original idea and march into the eastern shires. Before setting out it was extremely important that Mar should be made acquainted with his movements, but it was equally difficult to find any means of communication, for on the land side the country people were not favourable, and the English men-of-war lying in the Firth seemed to bar the passage of any courier towards Fife. A stratagem was employed which proved successful. A boat was sent off from the shore, and as it pulled away from the fort, some shots were sent after it. The English seamen concluded that thus it must be manned by some hostile



to the Highlanders, no pursuit was made, and the letter it carried was brought safely to Mar and told him of his lieutenant's operations. The same Saturday evening as Argyle returned to Edinburgh and was preparing an attempt at an artillery train, at nightfall the Highlanders silently stole out of Leith citadel. They marched along the sands, so as to pass the more easily unobserved, and crossing the mouth of the river where the water even at the low tide rose as high as their knees, made away towards the east. Little had been gained by the occupation of Leith, for on account of having no transport they could not carry with them the stores which they had found in the private vessels or in the public custom-house. Nor were even the forty men who had been released from gaol gained as an increment to their army, for on marching out, forty had to be left behind, who had, with patriotic zeal, made a brave endeavour that the brandy captured in the cellars of the excise should never revert to the Sassenach government, but succumbed before they had thoroughly accomplished the self-imposed task of drinking it all. The night was dark and dreary, constant alarms disturbed the column, every loud splash of the sea was imagined to be the dash of the oars of the English cutters, every horse moving near or neighing in the distance was thought to belong to the grey dragoons or the mounted militia. The Highlanders, with an almost superstitious dread of cavalry, and nervous through the circumstances, mistook their own mounted advanced guard for enemies, and fired upon them. As they passed into the town of Musselburgh, some shots were fired out

of the houses which killed one of Mar's regiment, and made his comrades still more excitable and irritable. A horseman came near who was one of their own side and was challenged in Gaelic,—not understanding the question nor having a sufficient command of the dialect to respond, he was immediately shot dead. After a march of seven hours, about two on the morning of Sunday the 16th, they arrived weary and exhausted at Seaton Palace, the abode of Lord Wintoun, which they found had been already ransacked by the Lothian Militia. The furniture had been broken, the walls much injured, and the fittings of the chapel torn down and smashed to pieces, and the bodies torn from the graves, not because Lord Wintoun was likely to become a rebel, but because he had committed the gross outrage of being born of a Roman Catholic line.

The Palace of Seaton was an ancient castle with a large garden surrounded by a high stone wall. Within it the Brigadier took up a position, and made such hasty intrenchments as he could to guard against pursuit. Argyle, on hearing of the retreat of Macintosh, determined to attack him at Seaton ; but during the night express after express galloped into Edinburgh from General Whitham, who had been left in command at Stirling, saying that he was threatened by an advance of the whole Highlands, and must be reinforced or overwhelmed. But if Whitham was fearful of being attacked, Mar seems to have been quite as nervous about attacking. He had been rejoined by Lord Strathmore and the men of Macintosh's division that had been



stranded on the Isle of May, and prevented from getting across the Forth by the English vessels. From these he learned that the Brigadier himself with his remaining troops had safely gained the southern shore; and to distract the attention of Argyle from this movement, he made an advance from Perth to Dumblane, as if with the view of crossing the Forth. This movement promised success, and if it had been vigorously carried out, might have gained the whole of Scotland. If Argyle concentrated his forces to resist Mar, Macintosh would be unopposed, and could either attack Edinburgh or march without encountering a single patrol of dragoons from North Berwick to the borders, raising the country as he passed along. If, on the other hand, the Duke concentrated against Macintosh, the passage of the Forth was left free, and nothing could hinder Mar from pushing boldly through Clydesdale to Carlisle.

But a strategical combination of such a nature is pre-eminently dependent on accuracy of information and communication, and Argyle possessed the enormous advantage of holding the interior position between Mar and his lieutenant, and thus preventing a free correspondence. Had Macintosh been aware of Mar's advance, he should not have moved from Leith, and Argyle could hardly have returned to Stirling while the Highlanders lay in their lair close at hand ready to spring upon the capital. The retreat of Macintosh permitted the Duke to hurry back to guard the Forth, although he had intended to attack Seaton on Sunday, in consequence of Whitham's pressing demands. Leaving

two hundred dragoons in Edinburgh with the remainder of his troops, he hastened to Stirling, and arrived in time only to find that Mar, with four thousand men, supported by four thousand more, was at Dumblane, within six miles of Stirling Castle, and that Whitham had already been forced to blow up the bridge over the Forth at Donne, as well as that close to his own camp. That Monday afternoon it was expected by everyone that next morning at daybreak the tartans would be wading, and the slogan resounding on the northern bank of the Forth, and that a bloody struggle for the passage of the river would take place between the claymores of the clansmen, and the bayonets of the red-coats. But Mar thought otherwise; he perhaps imagined his object achieved by drawing Argyle off Macintosh; perhaps when the moment for action came he felt instinctively incompetent to direct the operations of battle. Without coming within range of the outposts of the Southerners, he returned to Perth, alleging as an excuse that the country about Dumblane was too much exhausted to feed his troops, and that he was determined not to cross the Forth till all the clans were assembled and the Earl of Sutherland had been reduced. The best means to hasten the reduction of Sutherland would have been a brilliant success in the south, and by proclaiming that food for his army was wanting within a few miles of the rich carse of Gowrie, he proclaimed that he was totally unfit for his command.

For two days Macintosh remained at Seaton. His communication with any friends of his cause that there might



be in Edinburgh was made difficult, and perhaps interrupted by the Lords of Rothes and Inchiquin, who came out with the two hundred dragoons to reconnoitre Seaton on the day Argyle left. From Edinburgh he could not hear of the departure of the Duke, but the same boat which had been sent from Leith returned to Port Seaton with letters, and succeeded in landing them, notwithstanding the heavy fire from the English fleet. This must have told him of Mar's forward movement, and he might again have advanced on Edinburgh, but he contented himself with sweeping provisions from the country into Seaton, and establishing a magazine there, as if with the view of remaining some time. To check these depredations, the dragoons left in Edinburgh, with three hundred volunteers, made a demonstration against the position of the Highlanders, but after a distant survey of the post the volunteers again came to the conclusion that the rebels were too strongly intrenched: an assault was impossible without the aid of artillery; and, having exchanged a few shots at too great a distance to incur any harm, returned to their homes and narrated their adventure, with not perfectly strict accuracy, in the bosoms of their families.

On the same day, Tuesday, the 18th of October, as General Carpenter arrived at Newcastle with troops to put down the Northumbrian insurrection, two gentlemen reached Seaton with the news of the rising of Mr. Forster, and of that of the South Country Scots under Lord Kenmare. A request at the same time was brought from Forster, asking Macintosh to unite forces with him

at Kelso. This application caused the Highlanders to alter their intention of remaining at Seaton, and on the following day they started for the south. Several of the clansmen objected to move further from their native glens, and deserted when the head of the column was directed southwards. Not a few stragglers were captured by the dragoons from Edinburgh who hovered in their rear. The main body pushed forward, levying everywhere the public money. They took the road by Dunse, where they drew up in order of battle and proclaimed the Pretender, and after four days, reached Edmund bridge, where, as a token of respect for their valour in crossing the Firth, they were met by the horsemen of Forster and Kenmare, and escorted into Kelso.

The total force thus collected on the borders consisted of something over two thousand men, of whom about fifteen hundred were Highlanders under Macintosh, and six hundred horsemen, from Northumberland and Dumfries, under Forster and Kenmare. The former were, with the exception of the men of Lord Strathmore's regiment who had managed to cross the Forth, equipped in their national costume, and well armed with claymore, dirk, and target. By means of requisition and capture, they had nearly all by this time acquired fire-arms and bayonets. The Scotch horsemen were well mounted on strong useful animals, and were well armed with pistols and basket-hilted swords. The English troopers rode lighter and more thorough-bred horses, which seemed better adapted for the race-course than for the shock of



a charge ; many of them had no swords, and there was a great deficiency of pistols and good curb bridles. They appeared, indeed, so much better accoutred for rapidity of movement than for the rude press of battle, that some of the Scotch had a misgiving that at the moment of action their English confederates might feel inclined to trust more to their horses' heels than to their own right arms. So notorious was the absence of swords and want of discipline, that on entering a town, in order to make an impression, the command was given, " You who have swords, draw them," when a voice from the ranks not without justice replied, " And what are we to do who have none ?" Many of their animals too were small and in mean condition, and some of the men were mere grooms and stable-boys who had no idea of the use of arms. In social position the Scotchmen were superior to the English, nearly all the privates were gentlemen. They were divided into five troops, commanded by the Lords Kenmare, Hume, Wintoun,\* Carnworth, and Mr. Lockhart. The English were equally divided into five troops, of which the first two belonged to the Lords Derwentwater and Widdrington ; but the third was led by Hunter, who combined the profession of border-farming with the more lucrative occupation of illicit trading across the frontier ; and the fourth was commanded by Douglas, who lived on the profits of the sale of horses which he was in the habit of obtaining without the formality of payment.

The day following that on which these forces combined being Sunday, service was performed by Mr. Patten, chaplain to Mr. Forster, in the lofty and beautiful church

of Kelso, and a political sermon was preached on the text, "The right of the first-born is His." In the afternoon a Scotch non-juring clergyman gave a discourse, which had already done duty before Dundee a few days previous to the battle of Killiecrankie. The next morning the little army was formed into a circle, and while trumpets sounded and bagpipes screamed, the Pretender was solemnly proclaimed as James, King of England, France, and Scotland; while the mob, encouraged by the promise of reduction of taxation, which is always so conveniently professed by every opposition to an existing government, shouted, "No union, no malt-tax, no salt-tax!"

The proclamation of the Pretender and shouts of a mob that the appearance of a couple of dragoons would immediately disperse, could be of little avail to unseat King George from his throne. It was necessary that the insurgents, if they contemplated any success in the adventure they had undertaken, should take immediate and vigorous measures to acquire adherents and to disable their antagonists. Three plans of action were open to them: they might cross the border and engage Carpenter, who was marching from Newcastle with about nine hundred cavalry; or they might march northward and attack Argyle at Stirling in rear, while Mar pressed him in front; or again, they could move westward, reduce Dumfries, occupy Glasgow, give a hand to the western clans, and appear on the left flank of the Royal army, which was guarding the Forth. The first of these ideas did not promise much success. It is true that Carpenter's men were a good deal harassed by long and rapid marches,



and, for the most part, were newly raised, but his horses were well cared for, and if his men were recruits, they were at least properly armed. The insurgent horsemen were equally recruits of less standing, and were devoid of the leaven of veteran and non-commissioned officers which makes even the most recent levies of regulars so much superior to any irregular forces. The Highlanders, who composed the infantry, were superstitiously fearful of horsemen, and might fly before the steady charge of a squadron, while it might be safely assumed that an officer of the experience of Carpenter would take care to engage on ground where his horsemen could act freely, and which would be unfavourable to the clansmen accustomed chiefly to mountain warfare. Were the second plan adopted the southern insurgents would in a few days find themselves on one side of Argyle, while their confederates faced him on the opposite quarter. The success of a common attack, which should destroy the advantage of his interior position, depended entirely on an accurate combination of movement with Mar, and experience had already shown how difficult it was to ensure combination. The third plan appeared more promising, but its adoption would draw the English troops further from their homes, which was exceedingly distasteful to them, and would cause a neglect of the opportunity to raise Lancashire, where enormous reinforcements of men were promised to them. One thing was certain: whatever plan of action was decided upon, it should have been carried out at once; but at first after their junction the leaders seemed quite

satisfied with having obtained so insignificant a result, and lingered supinely at Kelso. It was only after dallying there for five days, when, on the 27th of October Carpenter had reached Wooler, one day's march only distant, with Hotham's foot, and Cobham's, Molesworth's, and Churchill's dragoons, and contemplated an attack on Kelso next day, that their future course of procedure was ever seriously considered.

The intelligence of the proximity of Carpenter made immediate action indispensably necessary. A council of the leaders was hurriedly convened; the meeting was agitated and stormy. It was proposed on the one hand to march into the west of Scotland; on the other, to pass the Tweed and engage the King's troops. The latter course should indubitably have been adopted. Every day lost was likely to bring reinforcements from England, Holland, or Flanders, to Carpenter. He never could be grappled with to greater advantage; he could not retreat, after having come so close, without exposing his men to a great moral depression, and was compelled to fight the insurgents wherever he might find them. They could choose their own position, and might even barricade the streets and await assault under cover of the houses of Kelso. The advocates of either plan pressed their own views hotly, and at length a compromise was made which committed the force definitely to neither course. It was decided to march up Teviotdale, keeping at some distance from the border, and then to act as circumstances might suggest. Such a vacillating policy was a sure omen of future disaster. The movement



from Kelso was begun, and on the 29th they reached Jedburgh. Here they found that by some happy accident Carpenter was three days' march behind them; probably he had halted to collect forage and to rest his horses. Another council was now held. It was determined to pass over the Cheviots and to push into England, and a troop was sent off to take up quarters in Tynedale. But the Highlanders were sullen and dispirited. They saw none of the masses coming to join that they had been led to expect; they objected to enter an unknown and mysterious land where they heard that regular cavalry was being called together to meet them; where they believed they would be captured and packed off as slaves to the plantations; and which had done nothing for the common cause but furnish a few badly-armed horsemen mounted on weeds and ponies. On being pressed to turn towards the south they flatly refused to cross the border, and the movement was perforce abandoned, and the troop already sent over was recalled. The march was then directed on Hawick, but on the way the Highlanders, catching the idea that a passage into England was determined upon, separated themselves from the column, and went to the summit of a rising ground, when they suddenly rested on their arms, and would allow no one except Lord Wintoun to come near them. This mutiny could not be punished; for if a struggle had been begun between the two parties, not improbably the Highlanders would have come off victorious. Negotiations were begun, and after a debate of two hours, the mountaineers consented to go on.

On Sunday they reached Langholme, not far from the Solway Firth, and pushed forward a detachment of horse to blockade Dumfries, till they could come up in force and attack the town, which had no fortifications, was occupied by no regular troops, and was held chiefly by small detachments of militia and train-bands. The possession of Dumfries would have opened for them the way to Glasgow, and the passage to a junction with the western clans. Here too they would have gained a port where they could have received supplies from France, and the occupation of the town would have placed in their hands a considerable quantity of arms which were stored in the Tolbooth, and of gunpowder that was placed for safety in the town steeple. There was some alarm in Dumfries when the rebel horsemen appeared, but the citizens took up arms, the militia and train-bands took up their posts, and the ministers of the neighbouring parishes, who chanced to be assembled in the town, at once went to their homes, and speedily returned at the heads of columns of their parishioners, bearing arms in their hands. A position was occupied in front of the town and some works thrown up. But these preparations were rendered unnecessary, for Carpenter was closing up, and sent word to Dumfries, that if it could hold out for six hours, he would within that time attack the rear of the enemy.

The rebels also became aware of this and again stormy discussions began. The Scotch were particularly anxious to push forward to Glasgow, and effect a junction with the Camerons. The English loudly protested



against turning away from their own land, where they loudly asserted that 20,000 men were only waiting for their appearance to join them in Lancashire alone. This argument prevailed, and when the head of the column reached Ecclefechan on the road to Dumfries, an express was sent to recall the horse who were supposed to be blockading that city, and the route was laid for Langton. The Highlanders at once remonstrated, and about 500 of them sturdily refusing to stay with the force, dispersed in small groups, and went away over the mountains, trusting to find their way home by the head of the Forth. Several of these were taken prisoners by the western peasantry, who were chiefly Cameronians, and accustomed to the use of arms. The rest of the army after this diminution marched towards the border, and on the 1st of November entered England, and halted at Brampton, near Carlisle, which could not be entered, as it was strongly held by a garrison from the government. Here Forster opened his commission from Mar, appointing him general in England; and, to conciliate the Highlanders and prevent further desertion, arranged that for the future each of them should be paid sixpence a day to keep them in order and under command.

The first day's operations after Forster had assumed the supreme command, shed the only lustre on the rebel arms that was gained during the enterprise, though this too was due more to the terror of the enemy than to the ability or courage of the rebel leader or his tiny army. This marched on the 2nd of November towards Penrith. In front of this place the horse militia of Westmoreland

and northern Lancashire, and the whole *posse comitatus* of the county of Cumberland, were drawn out, under the command of Lord Lonsdale and the Bishop of Carlisle, to oppose the rebel advance. They numbered about 10,000 men ; but as soon as some of the rebels' vedettes were seen coming out of the lane, the undisciplined mob was seized with a panic, and fled precipitately, leaving the field of their parade strewn with arms. A considerable number of horses and prisoners were taken ; the former were very valuable ; but as the latter were of no use, they were speedily released. Lonsdale himself, deserted by his whole array, except about twenty of his own servants, had to seek refuge in the old castle of Appleby.

Penrith was consequently occupied by Forster without further resistance, and thence he directed his march by Appleby on Kirkby Lonsdale. Here the little army of the insurgents reached the border of Lancashire. It had marched through two counties of England and had hardly gained a man to raise its strength, for the government had taken measures in good time, and before Forster could cross the borders all the gentlemen of these shires that were likely to have the influence and inclination to head a rising or lead men to join the rebel standard were already safely secured in Carlisle Castle. The Scotch gentlemen and Highland soldiers began to murmur loudly. They asked angrily where the numerous levies were which had been so freely promised to induce them to turn away from an enterprise which promised success in Scotland, and to march into a county where, loudly as the High Church party



had talked over their cups, not a single person had come to share their dangers or join their fortunes. Nothing had as yet been done of any importance in England, no recruits had been raised, and no arms acquired; the public money which had been secured was not a large sum, and the proclamation of the Chevalier and substitution of his name in the churches for that of King George would be preferable as the result rather than as the prelude of military action. But at Kirkby affairs seemed brighter. The county of Lancaster was strongly Catholic; and already at Kirkby some gentlemen joined with their servants. This was a slight encouragement, and under its influence Forster gave the order for the advance to Lancaster. On the way, while the troops were halted and resting on their arms, the news came to them that the gentlemen of Lancashire were up and coming to join them with 1,200 men, and that that very day the Chevalier was proclaimed at Manchester. This intelligence was greeted with a round of cheers, the Highlanders plucked up their hearts, and with swinging strides and bagpipes playing poured into the town of Lancaster. The notorious Colonel Chartres, who commanded in the place, proposed to blow up the bridge over the Loyne to stay the advance of the insurgents, but, yielding to the loud expostulations of the townspeople and the consideration that the river could be easily forded, retired with his detachment of Stanhope's dragoons. Here the Pretender was proclaimed at the cross, the gaol was thrown open, and those who had been

imprisoned on account of the riots against meeting houses released. Some arms were seized in the custom-house, as well as a considerable quantity of brandy, which was distributed among the Highlanders, in order to cultivate their good humour. Six pieces of cannon were also found, which were at once mounted on wheels taken from the coach of Sir Henry Haughton, a principal supporter of the government. Lancaster possessed a castle and a seaport, both of which it would have been desirable to hold with a garrison that might serve as a nucleus round which other adherents in the northern portions of the county might rally, but the force was too small to permit of detachments being left behind, and the insurgent leaders fondly hoped to push on to Warrington bridge, and, having secured that defile, to seize the more important town of Liverpool. With this object they moved on the 9th, and that night their horse occupied Preston, but the foot, detained by the bad weather and deep roads, could only march on the following day. But now they were in high spirits, for two squadrons of dragoons retired before them, and, as is so often the case with men ignorant of war, they rushed from the extreme of despondency to that of confidence, and concluded that the royal troops were afraid to face them. This confidence was considerably damped by the appearance of the 1,200 Lancashire men who now joined them, for they were badly armed, wretchedly equipped, and a mere rabble that could do little but impede their more effective associates. It was observed, too, with mortification that all the men of influence who came in were



Papists, and that no representatives appeared of the High Church party, which the Highlanders had been taught to believe would rise unanimously in their favour.

But while Forster and his chief of the staff, Oxburgh, who was more fitted for a priest than a soldier, contemplated the seizure of Warrington and capture of Liverpool, General Wills, who commanded in Cheshire, was preparing a most convincing proof of the determination of the Royal troops to fight. Notifying his intentions to General Carpenter, who, on hearing that the rebels were over the border, passed over the mountains and struck across Durham, with the object of cutting their line of march. Wills ordered the troops under his command, who were widely cantoned, to concentrate at Warrington on the 10th. These consisted of Preston's regiment of foot, the old Cameronians; of the 3rd Horse, now the 2nd Dragoon Guards; and of the newly-raised dragoon regiments of Stanhope, Wynne, Honeywood, Munden and Dormer. With these he pushed forward to meet the rebel advance, and on the morning of the twelfth was in front of Preston.

During the march through Cumberland and Westmoreland Forster had taken measures to obtain information of the movements of the enemy; but on entering Lancashire he was assured by the gentlemen of the county that no enemy could come within forty miles without their knowledge. The confidence with which this assurance was given induced the leader to relax his precautions. But he was not justified, for on the morning of

the 12th, when the insurgents were starting from Preston to march on Wigan, the advanced guard unexpectedly found Wills' vedettes close up to the Ribble. Forster was completely surprised, and on the spur of the moment had to decide what course he should pursue. He might hold the passage of the river, which offered many advantages, as the bridge was long and narrow, and terminated in a deep lane that extended for half a mile up to the town, between high hedges and through gardens and enclosures. Here the horsemen of Wills would not be able to act, and Farquharson of Invercauld was already on the bridge with a hundred Highlanders, and was willing to defend it to the last drop of his own and his clansmen's blood. Forster apparently conceived it more advantageous to hold the town itself. The Highlanders were withdrawn from the bridge, and every available man set to work to construct barricades. These were barely completed and armed with the cannon when the head of Preston's column was seen approaching by the road that leads from Wigan. The guard placed at the barricade that barred this approach opened on the Cameronians, but the insurgent army had no artilleryman or matross to direct their fire, and a seaman who proffered his services for the occasion had either so little judgment or so much ale that his first round, instead of reaching Preston's ranks, knocked the top off a steeple in the neighbourhood of his own battery. Afterwards he succeeded in getting the range, and did some execution.

Wills ordered Preston to attack the barricades,



despatched the horse to watch the fords of the river, and extended his dragoon regiments so as to complete as far as possible the blockade of the place. The Cameronians rushed up three of the streets to the assault, but the Highlanders and moss-troopers fought savagely, and received them with a withering fire of musketry that drove back the heads of the columns. Again and again attacks were made, but though the Cameronians seized some houses on the outskirts of the town, they failed to carry, or even get close up to, the barricades. The soldiers, abandoning then the direct assault up the streets, set fire to the houses between their position and the barriers. There was a sharp frost, and the weather was very still, so that the conflagration did not spread, but by the light of the burning houses the skirmish was carried on all night, and every rebel who showed in the streets drew a bullet from the buildings where the Cameronians lay. Under cover of the darkness most of the wretched Lancashire men who had joined the insurgents attempted to steal away and regain their homes. Many escaped, but many were sabred by the horsemen who watched the fords of the river, or the dragoons who patrolled the roads.

The same evening as Wills began his attack on the rebel position, Carpenter arrived at Clitheroe, and appeared with his cavalry on the north of Preston, at midday on Sunday the 13th. He at once completed the blockade of the town, and thus deprived its defenders of all hope of escape. To repel the attacks of the assailants was now impossible, and all that

remained was to arrange the best terms for laying down their arms. The Scotchmen spurned the idea of retaining life at the cost of surrender, and clamoured to be led out with the desperate attempt of cutting their way through the regulars. But the English hoped to obtain terms, and Oxburgh was sent to the royalist head-quarters to propose a capitulation. When this was known, Forster was nearly pistolled by a Scotch gentleman, but saved by a neighbouring hand that struck up the weapon. The only terms that the English generals would grant were unconditional surrender, and the only modification that could be obtained was that the prisoners should not at once be put to the sword, but spared during the king's pleasure. After many attempts to obtain ameliorated conditions these were accepted, Brigadier Macintosh and Lord Derwentwater were sent into Carpenter's lines as hostages for their fulfilment on the part of the insurgents, and an English officer with a drummer rode up to the houses occupied by the Cameronians; beat the chamade; and the desultory firing that had been going on between the windows and the barricades died away.

The following morning the conditions were carried out. Preston's foot occupied the town and received the arms of the rebels. These were now about 1,400 in number, and they were all made prisoners. The soldiers were confined in the church, where the coldness of the weather forced them to break up the woodwork for firing, and to rip off the cloth of the pews to serve as covering to their bodies. The leaders were sent up



under escort to London, and were brought into the metropolis pinioned with halters for the edification of the patrons of the beer-houses amid the hoots of the populace and the insults of the crowd that accompanied the procession, beating upon warming-pans in allusion to the supposed fictitious parentage of the Pretender.

Thus was quelled the insurrection in England, and on the same day as Forster was treating for a surrender at Preston, the cause of James suffered a still more serious blow in the northern kingdom.

Shortly after the departure of Macintosh to carry the war into the Lowlands, the Earl of Mar made the ineffectual movement towards Stirling which has been already noticed, and returned to Perth on account of the alleged scarcity of provisions around Dumblane. Here he remained during the remainder of October throwing up fortifications as if with the view of making Perth a strong place of arms and a base of operations for a southward movement. Meanwhile both sides received reinforcements, the troops from Ireland gradually arrived at Stirling, and Mar was joined by Seaforth, who was enabled to quit the north by the retreat of the Earl of Sutherland from the neighbourhood of Inverary into his own country. Little of military importance was undertaken by either side. Some detachments of the Highlanders sent out to raise the cess and sequesterate arms, were fallen upon by detachments of the royal troops and suffered some loss at Dunfermline and Kinross. Towards the end of the month, Gordon with the western clans appeared before Inverary and began

cutting fascines as if he designed an attack on the town, but finding that the Earl of Isla who commanded there was ready to receive him with a thousand men of the Campbell clan, he returned from before the place and marched through Glenorchy to join the main body of Mar at Auchterarder.

By the beginning of November Mar had received all the reinforcements he could reasonably expect, though it is doubtful whether he was not less fitted now to begin a successful campaign in the Lowlands than a few days after he had first arrived at Perth. His army had been diminished, though not to the extent of his reinforcements, by desertion; for many of the Highlanders had gone off home to deposit in safety such booty as they had been able to find. Any increase in his force was more than counterbalanced by the additions made to that of Argyle, for these were all regular soldiers trained to discipline and manœuvre; and in a contest against undisciplined bravery much more valuable than a mere statement of their numbers would imply.

There was no excuse now for delay, and Mar must necessarily either advance or disband his forces. The advance was determined on, and the design seems to have been to move on the line of the Forth in three columns. One of these was to march against the long causeway that continued the road into the Highlands from Stirling bridge, and was to be supported by two flanking attacks, of which the one was to be directed against the Abbey ford a mile below Stirling, and the other against Drip-coble ford; a mile and a half



above that town. On the 10th of November the camp at Perth was broken up, and the insurgent army moved to Auchterarder, where the infantry were cantoned, while the cavalry were scattered in the neighbouring villages.

The long delay at Perth had not been improved. By the time for the advance, the state of the defences of the fords and passes held by Argyle was totally unknown to Mar or Clephane, and in a camp where so many of the soldiers must have been natives of the districts through which the army was to march, the intelligence was so badly managed that there was no other guide than the celebrated Rob Roy, who, while professing to conduct the army of Mar, was sending secret information of all plans to his patron, the Duke of Argyle, in the opposite camp. Nor does it appear that any means were provided or precautions taken for repairing the bridges over the Leith or the Forth, when it must have been evident that at so late a season of the year the fords might very possibly be found impracticable. The consequences of this neglect never, however, became apparent, for on the morning of Saturday, the 12th of November, the Duke of Argyle having called in all his detachments, and thus collected a body of about 4,000 men, marched out of Stirling towards Dunblane.

At Auchterarder the Highland army was considerably reduced by the defection of the whole clan Fraser, numbering 400 men. These had been led to Perth by the husband of the heiress of their late chieftain, but were now recalled to allegiance to King George by

Fraser of Lovat, the heir male of the family who had arrived in the north. At the same time 200 of Huntley's followers, complaining that an unfair amount of fatigue duty had been cast upon them, went away. Such are the difficulties of carrying on war with voluntary levies not bound by the strict laws of military discipline. The diminished army advanced, led by the Macdonalds and western clans, with a party of Sinclair's horse as the advanced guard, with the intention of occupying Dunblane, when a messenger brought the news that the redcoats were already in that town. A party sent to reconnoitre confirmed this intelligence, and the Highland army was at once concentrated on a moor, which, from being used as a training-ground of the *posse comitatus* of the Sherifffdom of Menteith, was called the Sherifffmuir. Here, wrapped in their plaids and with their hands on their claymores, notwithstanding a hard frost, the mountain warriors slept soundly.

A few miles to the south the army of Argyle also passed the night in the open, with the officers at their posts, and thirty rounds of ammunition in each soldier's pouch. At early morning the sentries could hear the bagpipes awakening the clansmen, and at once the notes of the reveille rang out from the English trumpets, piercing sharply the frosty morning air.

Argyle, escorted by a squadron of horse, rode forward to reconnoitre. On the other side Mar summoned a council of chieftains and nobles, and put to them the question, "Fight or not?" In vain Huntley, with some sagacity, endeavoured to enquire what advantages



would accrue from a battle now, which could not be followed up in the face of the numerous cavalry that would cover the retreat of the southerners. A deep military strategy found little favour among the fiery spirits who thought that a whole campaign should be decided in a few moments by a fierce onset with the broadsword. An universal shout of "Fight!" was the response to the general's query, which was caught up by the two lines of Highlanders formed in order of battle, and repeated with deafening cheers, loud shouts of joy, and the tossing up of bonnets and hats into the frosty air. In this state of excitement the army of the insurgents moved to battle. Each line was broken into two columns that wheeled and then moved straight upon the position where the enemy lay. In rear of each column of infantry marched a division of horse, and the left flank of the army lay towards a morass, which it was expected would guard it from the enemy's cavalry. As soon as Argyle, who was reconnoitring, saw the movement of advance, he galloped back to his own lines, and ordered his troops to move forward as quickly as possible to seize the rising ground between his army and that of the enemy, which was nearer to the English, but the Highlanders ran forward so quickly that their horse was obliged to canter to keep up with them, and though the redcoats went forward at the double the Highlanders first seized the top of the hill. Both armies were thus surprised to find the enemy almost within pistol-shot. Both began instantly to deploy their columns into line, and in the disposition

of both some confusion not unnaturally occurred. The Highlanders had intended to reform their two lines with the horse on either flank, but in the hurry of the moment some of the cavalry became formed in the centre of the left wing. Still the army of Mar was formed so quickly that it excited the admiration of even the veteran officers on the opposite side, and by all accounts seems to have been ready for conflict before the regular troops. But the favourable moment was lost, as is so often the case with troops not thoroughly inured to discipline and manœuvre; the general-in-chief could not at the same moment see everything or decree everything, and the leaders or staff of divisions or brigades hesitate to take the responsibility of commencing an action, even at a manifest advantage. Had the Highlanders, who were 10,000 strong, made their customary impetuous attack the moment that they were formed, it is possible that they might have swept away the whole of the scarlet battalions, who were taking up their alignment and dressing not without some disorder. With such troops a general should lead, not direct. Mar should have been the first man at the top of the rise, and the moment the clansmen gained the summit have dashed down sword in hand against the forming enemy. As it was a pause ensued, and not irrelevantly a Gordon chieftain cried with anguish, "Oh for one hour of Dundee."

The breathing space lost by the Highlanders was not neglected by the Royal troops. The cool and experienced officers of the Buffs quickly formed their



regiment in a steady red line, gaudy with yellow facings, and bristling with glittering bayonets, on the extreme right of Argyll's position. Three more battalions, which now are known as the 8th, the 11th, and 17th of the line, carried on the alignment to the extreme left of the first line, where the 14th Regiment that had doubled with difficulty through the deep heather and broken ground, was some time in taking up its formation. In rear of this first line three more battalions, now the 21st, 25th, and 36th Regiments, were rapidly deploying in reserve, and on their left the 3rd Dragoons and Kerr's 7th Dragoons came up at a hand gallop into position. On the other flank Cathcart seeing that the hard frost of the previous night had rendered the morass to which Mar's left extended passable for cavalry, made a slight *détour*, and forming sharply to his left, rattled across the frozen surface at the head of the Greys, the 4th, and the Inniskilling Dragoons, and threatened the left flank of the Highlanders. But before he could charge home these had commenced the assault. The Macdonalds, Macleans, and men of Breadalbane had quickly formed on the right of the northern line, under the command of General Gordon. The general was awaiting orders, when Captain Livingstone, a veteran who had served in the armies of James before the Revolution, rode up, and with round oaths entreated him to attack. Gordon hesitated, but the chieftains and clansmen saw the opportunity. The plaids and philabegs were cast aside, bonnets pulled close over the eyes, a brief

prayer said for King James, and then with wild slogan cries the mountaineers rushed down the slope to attack. As they approached the still forming line of the 14th they poured in a volley, immediately dropped their firelocks, and drawing their claymores, rushed with a yell among the redcoats. In close contest the bayonet fixed at the end of an unwieldy musket was no match for the broadsword. The points were dashed aside as the mountaineers closed, many of the soldiers went down killed or wounded: those that were uninjured were quickly dispersed and driven with great slaughter from the field. The defeat of the 14th carried with it that of the two adjacent battalions, and within a few moments the whole of the left wing of the royal army was in rout, and flying towards the passes that led to Stirling, with the exception of the Dragoons, who could not indeed stem the torrent of the Highlanders, but retired before it in good order. The defeat of the left wing of Argyle's troops exposed unprotected the flank of the centre, which offered a fair mark for the rebel horsemen, but these, instead of seizing the advantage, proved inadequate to the occasion. Two squadrons, under Drummond and Marischal, went off after the soldiers whom the Highlanders had scattered, while Lord Huntley and the Master of Sinclair remained inactive on the field, without engaging at all.

On the right the issue was very different. There the assault of the mountaineers was equally furious as on the left, but it was checked by a withering volley from the completed lines, and, while the tartan ranks were



stagging under the fire, Cathcart, at the head of his grey horses, swooped down upon their flank. The attack was immediately baffled. The mountaineers, thrown into confusion by the very impetuosity of their onset, could oppose no resistance to the heavy shock of mounted men; and while the Dragoons smote them in flank the Buffs and the two battalions further west poured volley after volley into their front. Thus assailed, the Highlanders broke and fled, and were pursued with considerable slaughter as far as the River Allan. Several times they rallied and showed a front; over and over again the gallant squadron which carried James's standard charged to retrieve the disaster, but its numbers could not cope with the superior weight of Cathcart's horsemen, and it was so severely handled and so constantly assailed, that it lost the standard which it was its special pride to guard.

The battle now presented a most confused aspect. Mar did not take measures to improve his advantage on his right. The clans that had here defeated the enemy neither attacked the flank of the still firm troops of Argyle, nor pursued the regiments they had already defeated. No orders were apparently sent to them, and they drew up on a rising ground and rested on their arms. Had these followed Argyle and attacked him in the rear as he pressed their comrades towards the Allan, they would have placed him in a precarious position. As it was he was able to push the defeated left wing of Mar's army across the Allan, and saw nothing more of the victorious right wing till he

returned to Sheriffmuir, where it still halted. Menaces of attacks were made by both sides, but apparently both armies had a desire to regain their less fortunate comrades. After a few unimportant manœuvres the Highlanders drew off to the north and the battalions of Argyle to the south. As was natural after such a confused encounter, both generals claimed the victory; but it is not a victory, but the fruits of victory, that are of any practical benefit, and in the present case these were certainly reaped by Argyle. He captured the standard of the enemy, some prisoners, six pieces of cannon, and four waggons. These interesting trophies were not very important, but the grave result of the contest on Sheriffmuir was that he preserved the passage of the Forth and the security of the Lowlands, and that Mar never afterwards attempted to advance from Perth.

The result of the battle of Sheriffmuir virtually indeed decided the fate of the rebellion. Argyle, through want of a battering train, and perhaps from a desire to avoid bloodshed, did not advance against Perth, but contented himself for more than a month with holding the passage of the Forth. Men of experience in the rebel camp saw that their undertaking had failed. No greater resources, no larger numbers could be expected than the Highland army had possessed at Sheriffmuir. The success of the rebellion depended on the success of an invasion, and the action of the French Government had blighted all hopes of any invasion. The failure of assistance from abroad was only more serious than the failure at home to drive the King's army off the Forth and to invade the



Lowlands. After the action at Sheriffmuir circumstances daily became more unfavourable. The defection of the Frasers allowed the Earl of Sutherland to move against Inverness, and to collect in arms for King George the Grants, the Rosses, and the Monroes. The clans whose countries lay near these were forced to leave Perth to protect their own valleys, and many who were not perhaps absolutely required at home, took advantage of the excuse to quit a failing cause. Quarrels sprang up between the Highland chiefs and nobles, who wished to continue the war, and the more intelligent Lowland gentry, who saw the prospects of eventual defeat, and had no inaccessible mountains to guard their properties or persons from eventual punishment. Several of the disputants retired from the camp in high dudgeon. Among the common Highlanders, any who had secured plunder at Sheriffmuir started off home to place it in their huts, as it could not safely be trusted to any hand but that of the owner, and among those who thus departed few cared to return from the idle life of the chase to work as labourers on the fortifications of Perth. Mar was forced to keep this town as long as possible, for the Chevalier had been invited over and must soon arrive.

This unfortunate prince landed at Peterhead on the 22nd of December, and was conducted to the camp at Perth in such royal state as circumstances would permit. He had expected to find his army in possession of all Scotland, and his flag flying at least on the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, if not even at Carlisle and York, and a Highland host of half a hundred thousand warlike

mountaineers ready to march upon London. He found instead a small division of discontented Highlanders and grumbling gentlemen at Perth, and their leaders determined to abandon that place and retreat into the Highlands on the first advance of the general of the government. He thus had no hopes of success in Scotland, and no chance of assistance from abroad, and not unnaturally exclaimed that his advisers had brought him to his grave instead of to a throne. On his arrival at Perth some manifestoes were published; some of them were very hopeful, but the most sanguine were deprived of any joy on account of the arrival of their prince, for which a public thanksgiving was ordered, by the news that quickly came. The troops of the government were reported on the point of breaking up their camp at Stirling and of advancing upon Perth. That this was the fact was fully shown to even the common soldiers by an order issued that the houses of the village of Auchterarder and other hamlets between Perth and Stirling, with the corn and other forage, should be destroyed, lest they might afford quarters and sustenance to the enemy in their advance. In consequence of this order the town of Auchterarder and several villages were burnt to the ground. Not only did this measure depress the spirits of the men by showing that all idea of an advance southward was abandoned, but their hearts were made heavy by the sight of the inhabitants who, in the middle of an unusually severe winter, even for that part of Scotland, were driven out destitute and houseless into the fields.



But, while the Chevalier at Perth was issuing manifestoes in the name of James VIII. of Scotland and III. of England, was making proclamations for thanksgiving for his safe arrival, for prayers to be offered up for him in all churches, for the legal currency of foreign coins, for summoning a Scottish convention of estates, and for all fencible men between sixteen and sixty to join his standard, as well as for the ceremony of his coronation on the 23rd of January, the army of Argyle at Stirling had been considerably increased. No doubt the wish of the duke was that the Highland army should melt away of itself, and that the insurrection should thus come to a bloodless termination. But the government were anxious that not only should the insurrection fade away, but the roots of future disorder should also be torn up. General Cadogan, a trusted officer, an intimate friend of Marlborough, who was now Captain-General, was sent down to Stirling to act as military chief of the staff to Argyle, and to urge him forward in his attack on the Highlanders at Perth. Argyle made excuses for delay, and dwelt with considerable force on the deficiency of any artillery train. The field train, which had been ordered to be sent from London by sea to Edinburgh, had not arrived; but Cadogan, with promptitude and energy, hastened to Berwick, and there organised a temporary train, which he urged upon Argyle must be sufficient for the purposes of the campaign. Delay acted with its usual result on irregular forces, and Mar's army had already dwindled to half its original numbers. In his ranks there were

not a few hopeless of success. Having learnt of the surrender at Preston, these were inclined to lay down their arms if they could only obtain easy terms, and Mar actually entered into communication with Argyle as to a cessation of hostilities. The ministry in London, however, were by no means inclined to take the lenient view of the chief of the house of Campbell. Ormond's invasion had been averted ; Foster's advance had been crushed: the best part of the troops of the government which had before been held in England on account of Ormond and Foster were now free, and the government were determined not to treat as belligerents rebels who still remained in arms. Also six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, for whom application had been made, had landed in the Thames in November, and were now in the camp of Stirling. By the arrival of these reinforcements the army of the south was increased in still greater proportions than the losses of the army of the Highlands, and though a very heavy fall of snow and a peculiarly hard frost prevented the easy advance of the southern army, still the Highlanders only held Perth on sufferance.

When the news arrived that the Duke of Argyle was about to advance from Stirling, a council was held, and the question of the enemy's advance on Perth was seriously discussed. It is noteworthy that during the time that hostilities were lulled no measures had been taken for raising fortifications round the town of Perth, and it was only on the reported advance of the enemy that any steps were taken for rendering it more than an open town. At this council the future conduct of the



campaign was earnestly and hotly debated. A few, with true Highland spirit, wished to advance and attack the enemy as he approached—some more desired to at least hold Perth, and trusted that the weather would make the opening of trenches exceedingly difficult to hold it as a field-post against the advance of the regular troops. But these were in the minority, and not unjustly so. While Mar was lying at Perth and Argyle at Stirling, both inactive, the English ships of war that were in the Frith of Forth had driven the rebel forces from the Castle of Burnt Island, the royal troops had established themselves throughout the greater part of Fifeshire and had cut off the supply of much food and of all fuel from the Highland army at Perth.

On the 24th of January, after several days had been spent in clearing away the snow for the advance of the troops, Argyle broke up his camp at Stirling, and the march for Perth commenced. The clearing away of the snow was reported at the Highland head-quarters, and probably it was intended by Argyle that this should be so in order that the rebel army might retreat without further bloodshed. In the council at Perth on the 29th of January it was resolved that the army of the Chevalier should retreat, and the order for this movement to be carried out was promulgated to the troops on the 30th, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., and a day of evil omen to the House of Stuart. Early on the following morning, notwithstanding the indignation of the Highland subalterns—who exclaimed with anger, "Why did the King come hither? Was it to see his

subjects butchered like dogs without striking a blow for their lives and honour?" and urged him to trust his safety to them, saying, that if he were willing to die like a prince, he would find that there were ten thousand men in Scotland willing to die with him—the clans began to file over the Tay, which though usually a deep and rapid river, was now a sheet of solid ice, and bore both horse and foot with safety. The march of the dejected and sullen clansmen was led along the Carse of Gowrie to Dundee. About twelve hours after the rear-guard of the Highlanders had left, Argyle at the head of his dragoons entered Perth, and allowing his men there a day of rest, set forward on the following morning with a picked body in pursuit. From Dundee the retreating army continued its march to Montrose. Here a report arose among the Highlanders that the King, the Earl of Mar, and some other leaders were about to abandon them and take flight by sea. No doubt it was the best advice that could be given that the Chevalier should seize the first opportunity to leave the shores of Great Britain and seek safety on the Continent. It was evident now that the insurgent army had no chance of restoring the war, and that the presence of the Chevalier only incumbered the movements of the troops, and exposed his person to the danger of being taken by the government. When it was determined that the Prince should retire from Scotland, such policy should have been boldly avowed; but unfortunately, to pacify the troops, orders were given that the march should be continued to Aberdeen. The reports of the intention of the Chevalier



to leave the army were contradicted ; his guards were ordered to parade as usual, with his horses and equipage, before his lodgings, and his baggage was sent forward as if he were about to continue his journey. But, on the evening of the 4th of February, James sallied out of a back door, went on foot to the quarters of Lord Mar, and thence to the water side. They together pushed away from the shore in a little boat, and embarked in a small French vessel which was waiting for them in the roads, and which immediately stood out to sea. Thus the Chevalier left the shores of Scotland, having done little more than to involve his partisans in difficulties with the government, and to bring away his commander-in-chief safe and sound.

On General Gordon, for whom the Chevalier left a commission of commander-in-chief and full powers to treat with the enemy, fell the difficult and disagreeable duty of conducting the wrecks of a broken army back to Aberdeen. As the clansmen marched towards the city, hourly they melted away and escaped to the hills, or concealed themselves in different directions. From Aberdeen the diminished remnant of the force retired by Strathspey to the wild countries of Badenoch and Lochaber. Few fell into the hands of the enemy, partly from the tardy nature of Argyle's pursuit to Aberdeen, and partly from the difficulty and danger of leading regular troops in the rugged and desolate tracts beyond that city, where there were no roads worthy of the name. In the western highlands the insurgent body finally dispersed. The common

clansmen, safe in their obscurity, retired to their homes, while the leaders, for the most part, took boat and escaped to the Orkneys, and afterwards made their way to the Continent.

The Chevalier himself, after a voyage of seven days, landed at Gravelines, and proceeded thence to St. Germain. Thus ended the invasion of England of 1715. This attempt proved fatal to many ancient and illustrious Jacobite families. Its failure may be attributed to various causes, and not least to the inactivity of the Earl of Mar before the battle of Sheriffmuir, since he allowed the Duke of Argyle, by assuming a firm, defensive attitude, to neutralise and control a force of four times the numbers which Argyle himself commanded. The government acted with moderation in the punishment of those who had taken part in the rebellion, and free pardons were distributed with liberality to all who had seceded from the insurgent ranks before their final dispersion.

The Highland chiefs and clans were in general forgiven upon submission and the surrender of the arms of their people. This surrender of arms was, however, practically of disadvantage to the government, as among the disaffected tribes old, antiquated, and useless weapons were alone given up, while the loyal clans carried out the wishes of the government and gave up weapons which might have been of practical benefit in after years.

It was by accident that the rebellion of 1715 was not assisted by what would have apparently been a most important and possibly successful invasion of England.



The fiery and impetuous Charles XII. of Sweden had been seriously annoyed by King George on account of his connection with the absorption of the duchies of Bremen and Verden. During the rebellion of 1715 the Duke of Berwick had formed a project of invasion by the Swedes, and held several conferences upon it with Baron Spaar, the Swedish minister at Paris. It would be interesting to consider what might possibly have been the result of such an attempt, planned by the astute strategy of Berwick, and executed by the fiery valour of Charles. Certainly the effect of a Swedish alliance would have been of great political assistance to the Stuart cause. People in England would have seen that the Pretender no longer relied on such Papist countries as might please to use him as a tool for annoyance to Protestant England, and Englishmen might have looked upon their northern neighbours, the Swedes, as allies and assistants, and with more kindly eyes than their hereditary and orthodox enemies, the French or the Spaniards. At the time that Mar was holding Perth it was intended that a body of seven or eight thousand Swedes, then encamped near Gottenburg, should be embarked at that port; that a sum of 150,000*l.* should be advanced by the Chevalier for their expenses, and that they should sail to Scotland. This course, as Marshal Berwick himself observes, would allow an invasion by surprise to be easily made, since no one had the least idea of such a scheme, and since with fair winds the passage from Gottenburg to the Forth might have been accomplished in forty-eight hours.

A messenger was sent with the project to the King of Sweden, but Charles was then closely besieged in Stralsund. It was long before the communication could reach him, and when it did the critical state of his own affairs compelled him to decline it.

But two years later Baron Gortz, minister of Charles, devised a confederacy for dethroning George I. and placing on the throne of England the heir of the House of Stuart. This idea was a favourite project of Charles. The views of Gortz were most extensive. He had the idea of a peace with the Czar, and a perfect concert of measures between that monarch and Sweden; a conspiracy against the Regent in France, who had neither the power nor the inclination to aid the Stuarts in their attempts on England; an insurrection against George I. of England and an invasion of Scotland by the King of Sweden in person, at the head of a Swedish army. Spain also entered warmly into the scheme: its prime minister, Alberoni, sent to Spaar a subsidy of a million of French livres, and the mimic court of the Pretender offered 60,000*l*. The invading army was to number 12,000 Swedish veterans, and the military reputation of Charles was worth probably 10,000 more.

But the conspiracy was discovered by the spies of the French Regent, who communicated it to the English Government. The Swedish Envoy was arrested in London by General Stanhope. His papers were seized, and their contents fully vindicated the course of the British Government. They confirmed in the most undoubted manner the existence of a wide-spread



conspiracy for the aid of the Jacobites. But the plan of the invasion was entirely disconcerted, and all hopes of its being carried out destroyed, by the death of Charles XII. before Frederickshall in 1718.

But the enterprising Spanish prime minister, Alberoni, found it advisable two years later, in the hopes of dealing a blow against the Triple Alliance, to again attempt an invasion of Great Britain, this time by means of Spanish forces. As the prospect of a Swedish invasion was closed for ever by the death of Charles, Alberoni determined to assist the Pretender with an expedition from Spain itself. The Chevalier de St. George was, in 1719, invited to Madrid, and there received with the honours due to the King of England. Directions were given to equip a formidable armament, and its command was offered to the Duke of Ormond, the same general who some years previously had conducted an English expedition against Spain, who had made a demonstration against Cadiz, and had carried Vigo by assault. In the beginning of March, 1719, James, who had secretly embarked at the little port of Nettuno, landed at Rosas. He was received at Madrid with all the deference due to royalty. His residence was appointed in the palace of Buen Retiro, and the King and Queen of Spain paid him official visits as to the King of Great Britain.

On the arrival of the Chevalier at Madrid orders for sailing were despatched to the fleet at Cadiz. The expedition consisted of 5,000 soldiers, partly Irish, and carried arms for 30,000 more, whom it was hoped

to raise in the Highlands. The fleet numbered five men-of-war and about twenty transports. Several of the chief officers of 1715 were engaged in the enterprise. Ormond himself was to embark on the fleet at Corunna, and was to assume the command with the title of Captain-General of the King of Spain. The Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, now in close alliance with England and eager to requite a similar favour, had sent the English Government timely warning of the expected expedition in a letter of Abbé Dubois to Earl Stanhope, which bears the date of March 15th, 1719. The French Government at the same time offered to England the help of any number of their troops. These troops were indeed declined, but six battalions were accepted from the Austrian Government, and came over from the Netherlands, as well as 2,000 Dutch auxiliaries from the States General. The English troops at home were cantoned to the best advantage in the north and west of England. A squadron of English men-of-war, under Sir John Norris, rode in the British Channel. Both Houses of Parliament addressed the King, assuring him of their support, and a proclamation was issued offering 10,000*l.* for the apprehension of Ormond on his landing.

But the elements and fortune seem ever to have declared against the unlucky House of Stuart. No sooner was the Spanish fleet off Finisterre than it fell in with a severe gale, which lasted two days, drove two transports and men-of-war back separately and in disorder to Spain, and disconcerted the whole enterprise.



An inconsiderable portion of the expedition being the frigates from St. Sebastian, escaped the violence of the storm, and pursued their voyage to Scotland with 300 men, some arms, ammunition, and money. These reached the place of the intended assembly of the expedition in the Isle of Lewis. On board of them were the Earls Marischall and Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, with the 300 Spanish soldiers, and with some arms for those whom it was hoped would be raised in the Highlands. On arrival in his own Island of Lewis, Seaforth raised a few hundred Highlanders, and with these and the Spanish troops the expedition crossed over to Kintail, hoping to raise the clans of the Western Highlands. But only very few men joined the adventurers, and during some weeks they appear to have remained unmolested. It was even believed by the officers of the government that they had re-embarked. At length some ships of war coming to the part of the coast where they were lying almost concealed, retook Donan Castle, of which the rebels had made themselves masters. General Carpenter, who commanded in Scotland, directed some forces against them from the garrison of Inverness, aided by the Monroes, Rosses, and other Whig clans of the Northern Highlands. The officer in command of the expedition, Major-General Wightman, who had with him about 1,000 men, found Seaforth at the head of an insurgent body about 2,000 strong, holding the pass of Strachells, a strong position near the valley of Glenshiel. On the evening of the 10th of June Wightman commenced his attack on the Highland

position. A desultory combat took place, in which there was much skirmishing and sharpshooting among the heather-tufted rocks and dwarfed oaks of Glenshiel. The heavily-weighted and heavily-clothed soldiers had little success against the Highlanders in their own country, who were adepts in every species of mountain warfare. The advantage remained on the side of the mountaineers, who lost only one man, while the troops of the government had 20 killed and 120 wounded. The royal troops were compelled to retreat without dislodging the enemy from their position, and to retire so hastily as to leave their wounded on the field, many of whom the holders of the battle-ground are reported to have despatched with their dirks.

But though the invaders obtained a partial success, it was not sufficient to encourage perseverance in the enterprise, especially as their chief Seaforth was badly wounded, and could no longer direct the adventure. The Highlanders accordingly, swift of foot, and familiar with the country, dispersed as soon as night fell, and easily made their escape one by one to their own glens. The 300 Spaniards, who were ignorant both of the country and of its language, and who were forced for safety to keep together as a body, were compelled next day to lay down their arms at discretion in front of the superior forces of Wightman. This affair of Glenshiel may be termed the last spark of the great rebellion of 1715, which rather died out of itself from want of fuel than was driven back by the energy or preparation of the resisting government.



There can be little doubt that if the Earl of Mar had pushed forward with energy and rapidity, he would have found the south of Scotland in an almost defenceless condition. The powerful families of Jacobites in England would have risen, the troops of the government were scattered in small numerical force, and it is not impossible that London might have fallen, and the crown have been transferred, at least temporarily, from the House of Hanover to that of Stuart. None can regret that such a result was not achieved. All thinking men must recognise what misery and misfortune would have fallen upon this country had the House of Stuart, with its bigoted views and its doctrines of arbitrary and despotic royal authority, sat again upon the throne. But the fact that an important invasion died out through the supineness of its own leaders, rather than through the power of resistance offered to it, is not encouraging to those who believe that the presence of a hostile force in the capital of England is impossible.

The rebellion of 1715 taught the English Government that it was necessary to inquire seriously into the causes which made the Highland clans dangerous to public tranquillity, and to take measures to prevent their ready mountain valour from being in future abused into the means of causing injury both to themselves and others. The law for disarming the Highlanders was enforced—so much so that many Highland chiefs complained that their people were deprived of the means of protecting themselves, and were exposed to robbery by bands of

armed men who traversed the country and plundered the defenceless people. These claims were doubtless not without foundation, but they were greatly exaggerated by Simon Fraser, the notorious Lord Lovat. Yet such representations and the general condition of the Highlands caused the government to grant a warrant in 1724 to Field-Marshal Wade, an officer of skill and experience, to investigate and report upon the state of the Highlands, and to propose the best measures for enforcing the law, protecting the defenceless, and opening up means of communication throughout the country. In consequence of Marshal Wade's report, various important measures were taken. Several clans who had evaded the law of disarmament were compelled to give up their weapons. Most of these made an ostensible surrender of their arms, although many of the most serviceable muskets, claymores, and targets were hidden away in caverns and recesses of the rocks, to be brought forth on another occasion in the cause of the white cockade. An armed vessel was stationed on Loch Ness to command the shores of that extensive lake. Barracks were built at Ruthven, and fortifications were established at Inverness, Fort William, and Fort Augustus, along the chain of lakes which are now traversed by the Caledonian Canal. These it was hoped would separate the lawless bands of the Western Highlands from the more pacific and loyal tribes of the south and east. In order to protect the unarmed population against robbers, independent companies of Highland soldiers were formed to secure the peace of the country and suppress gangs of



thieves. These companies consisted of Highlanders dressed and armed in their own manner, and were placed under the command of Scottish gentlemen supposed to be well affected to the government. From the fact that these men were clothed in the Highland garb to distinguish them from the regular troops, who wore the red uniform, they gained the name of black soldiers, and were embodied, with four additional companies that were raised in 1739, into the 42nd Regiment of Highlanders, which still bears the name of the "Black Watch."

But by far the most important portion of General Wade's task, and that which he executed with most complete success, was the establishment of military roads through the rugged regions of the north. By these the free passage of regular troops was ensured in a country of which in its natural state every mountain was a ready-made fortress, every valley a position of defence. The roads through the Highlands had hitherto been mere tracks worn by the feet of the clansmen and of the cattle that they drove before them. They were broken by rocks, morasses, and torrents. Along these the passage of any regular body of troops with cavalry, artillery, and baggage was altogether impossible. By the labour of his soldiers, Marshal Wade converted these rugged places into excellent roads of great breadth and sound formation. Ever since his time these have afforded a free and open communication through all parts of the north of our island. They were made at small expense, and are as worthy to be regarded as public monuments of skill

and patience as were the classic roads of the ancient Romans. They were made also upon the Roman principle, for regular soldiers were employed on the work, and were rewarded for their labour by a trifling addition to their daily pay. Thus much expense was saved which would have been necessary had civilian labourers been employed, even if it had been possible to obtain such labourers; and it is curious that an experiment which then succeeded so well has not led to the general adoption of military labour on public works.

Two of these great military roads, as they emerge from the low country, enter the hills, one at Creiff, the other at Dunkeld. Passing around the mountains in different directions, these two branches unite at Dalnacardoch; then in a single line they reach Dalwhinney, where again they divide into two. The north-westerly branch runs through Garriemore, and over the tremendous pass of Corryarrack, to a fort raised by Marshal Wade, called Fort Augustus. The other branch extends from Dalnacardoch north to the barracks of Ruthven, and to Lochaber, and thence to Inverness. From that town it strikes almost due westward across the island, connecting Fort Augustus with Inverness, and both enter Fort William and Lochaber, pushing through the country inhabited, in the time of Wade, by the Camerons, the Macdonalds of Glengarry, and other clans supposed to be the worst affected to the reigning family. These roads were of considerable importance in the last invasion undertaken in the cause of the house of Stuart, which burst forth in 1745.



## ATTEMPTED INVASION OF 1744.

TWENTY-FIVE years after the last remnants of the invasion of 1715 had died away amidst the dropping fire of musketry echoed back from the mountains of Glenshiel, England was again threatened with an attack. On this occasion the banished Stuarts were rather tools than authors. Yet this invasion was perhaps more fraught with danger to our country than any with which England has been menaced since the successful inroad of William III. Early in the summer of 1743, Cardinal Tencin, the Prime Minister of France, irritated by the assistance which England in the German war was giving to the Empress-Queen, both in the shape of men and money, urged the Chevalier James, who since shortly after the ill success of 1715 had made Rome his residence, that his son Prince Charles Edward should come to France in order to take the command of an expedition then being fitted out against England. James not imprudently replied, that the journey of the Prince should rather be postponed till the preparations for the expedition were complete, as otherwise the movements of the young Chevalier would only be of use in putting the government of King George upon its guard, and lead it to adopt more active and effectual measures for the defence of the island. This argument apparently was of effect. Before the Prince moved from Rome 15,000 veteran soldiers were drawn together at Dunkirk.

This army, under Prince Charles Edward, was to be commanded by the Maréchal de Saxe, a son of the late King of Poland, and at that time the most renowned officer for skill and courage in the gallant army of France. A large number of transports to carry the troops across the Channel were collected in the port of Dunkirk and the neighbouring harbours. A fleet of eighteen men-of-war was held ready to sail as their convoy from the military ports of Rochefort and Brest. News of these preparations reached England. A proclamation was put forth to set the laws in motion against Papists and non-jurors. Troops were poured by forced marches to the coasts of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire ; and an eager application was made to the Dutch government for the 6,000 auxiliaries that the States were bound by treaty to furnish in case of a threat of invasion. Loyal addresses and offers of voluntary service poured in to the government from all quarters ; yet with all this show, the clear eyes of Lord Mahon have indubitably discerned that no more than 7,000 British troops could be calculated upon for the defence of London or any of the neighbouring counties.

When it was known at Rome that the equipments of Dunkirk were in a state of forward preparation, the Chevalier St. George, on the 23rd of December, 1743, signed a commission declaring Prince Charles Edward his son, Regent, with full powers in his absence. A proclamation was also drawn up to the people of England to be published on the landing. This invasion was certainly prompted much more by the desire of the



French government to annoy the English, than by any disinterested wish to aid the cause of the Stuarts; but the presence of Prince Charles Edward with the invading army was most useful, as an extensive Jacobite conspiracy was well laid in England, and ready to burst forth as soon as the troops of Saxe should have disembarked on the shores of Kent.

Charles Edward himself, then in his 24th year, left Rome on the night of the 9th of January on the pretence of a hunting expedition, attended only by a single servant, who personated a Spanish secretary. In the disguise of a courier he reached Savona. There he embarked in a small vessel, ran through the British fleet at great risk of being taken by Admiral Matthews, but arrived safe at Antibes. Thence he pushed his journey with such speed that on the 20th of January, the very day on which his father at Rome publicly announced his son's departure, the young Prince rode into Paris. At the French capital Charles found the Earl Marshal and Lord Elcho. An interview with the King of France was eagerly solicited by the young Chevalier, but without result; and he was never admitted to the honour of a royal interview until after his subsequent return from Scotland in the following year. From Paris the Prince hastened to Gravelines, where, under the name of the Chevalier Douglas, he lived in strict seclusion, so as not to be noticed or known. At the same time as the invasion on the south of England was to be hurled against the shores of Kent or Sussex, a simultaneous descent was intended to be made upon Scotland

by the Earl Marshal. To secure the aid of the doubtful Simon Fraser, Earl Lovat, the Chevalier issued a patent to bestow on him the dukedom of Fraser, and which nominated him King's Lieutenant in all the counties of Scotland north of the Spey.

While Prince Charles Edward lay hidden at Gravelines, the French squadrons of Brest and Rochefort concentrated, and, under the guidance of Admiral Roquefeuille, began to move slowly up the British Channel. It was prepared either to engage the English fleet, so as to give time for the transports from Dunkirk and Gravelines to cross the Channel, or, by driving the vessels of the government from the waters, to afford a fair passage to the troops. The British squadron, which had till within a few days lain at Spithead, consisted of twenty-one ships of the line. It was commanded by Sir John Norris, an officer of much experience, but whose desire of adventure, it was said, had already been dimmed by the advance of age. On hearing of the concentration of the French squadrons, Norris sailed to the Downs, where he was joined by some more ships from Chatham, and was then at the head of a force considerably superior to the French.

By the time that the English fleet had concentrated off Dover, Roquefeuille had come up Channel as far as the Isle of Wight. His look-out men could discover no signs of English vessels, and no mast bearing the standard of England could be descried outside of the Needles. The French commander rashly rushed to the conclusion that Norris had sought a retreat beneath the



guns of Portsmouth. Under this belief he sent a despatch-boat to Dunkirk with an urgent message that the expedition should sail without delay. The military leaders were only too anxious to act directly in accordance with the advice of the naval commander-in-chief. Seven thousand of the soldiers were at once embarked in the first line of transports. The Prince and the Maréchal de Saxe put out to sea in the same ship; while the French admiral, pursuing his course, had already come to anchor off Dungeness.

At this critical time the British fleet, steering down from the Downs, advanced against Roquefeuille, now anchored within two leagues of the French coast, but this, it will be seen, left the Downs and the mouth of the Thames open for invasion from Dunkirk. At no time perhaps has England been so open to the chances of invasion. The French army was ready to embark, the French fleet, if equal or superior in force, had merely to engage and defeat the English, or, if inferior, had only to draw away, and must lead the greater bulk of the English in pursuit, thus leaving the Channel unprotected for the passage of the troops. Norris, although within striking distance of the French fleet, resolved to postpone the action till the following morning. Next morning at daybreak, however, when all was ready to clear for action, and the seamen confidently anticipated a victory, the French fleet had disappeared. Their admiral, conscious of the numerical superiority of his enemy, and satisfied with having made a diversion for the troops, had weighed anchor in the night, and sailed

back to French harbours. Next day a fearful tempest, which greatly damaged the French ships, protected them from the pursuit of the English, and inflicted considerable injury on the English men-of-war.

The storm which robbed Norris of a few spars, and caused some slight casualties to his vessels, proved fatal to the French transports carrying the soldiers. The wind blew directly on Dunkirk and the French northern coast with terrible violence. Some of the largest ships, with all the men on board of them, were lost; others were wrecked on the coast; and the remainder were obliged to put back to their harbours, with no small injury. For four or five days these terrible storms continued. No less authority than Sir Horace Walpole himself stated that the invasion was defeated by the force of the winds, which gave the English government time to make preparations, and said that if the French expedition had been ready to sail three weeks before, when the Brest squadron of men-of-war stood out to sea, all had been decided. It is presumed that by the term "all had been decided," the English statesman meant that the invasion had certainly been successful. At that time the Dutch auxiliaries had not arrived in England. These winds, which kept back the French fleet of those days, and held them in the harbours of Dunkirk and Gravelines, would be of little avail now since the introduction of steam, which by the power that it gives to an assailant to strike a blow with certainty, both as to strength and direction, has probably tended more to the advantage of an invader than to the benefit



of the invaded. The ill-success of their troops on the stormy seas that rage around our island discouraged the French ministry, and also diminished the number of French troops who were held ready for the descent. Charles himself for sometime trusted to renew the attempt, but the government at Paris was downhearted; the Maréchal de Saxe was drawn away from the coast, and appointed to the command of the French forces in Flanders; the soldiers were removed from Dunkirk, and the expedition was abandoned. In this instance certainly the safety of our country was due more to good fortune than to good management.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON :  
R. CLAY, SONS, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS,  
BREAD STREET HILL,  
QUEEN VICTORIA STREET.



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